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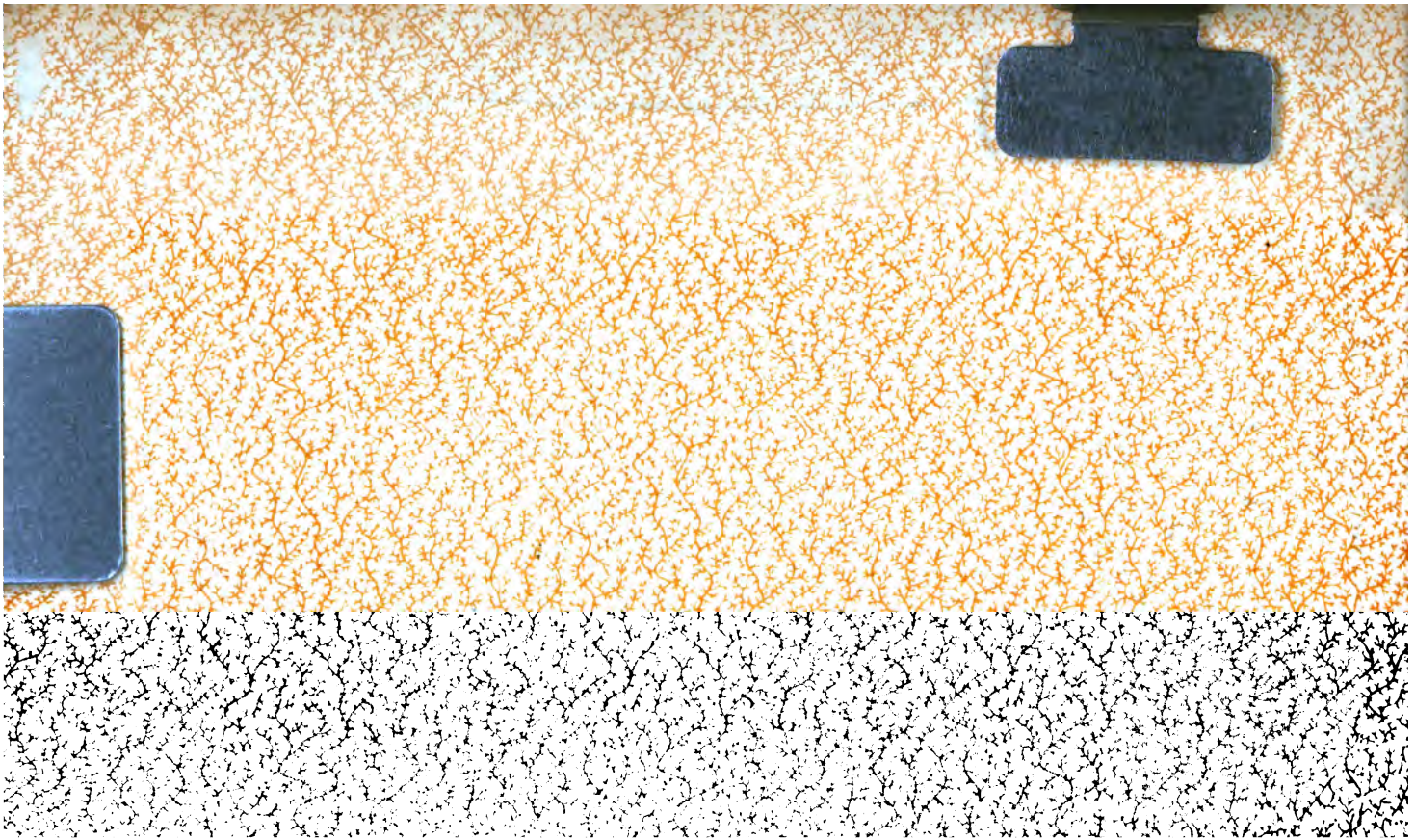

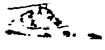

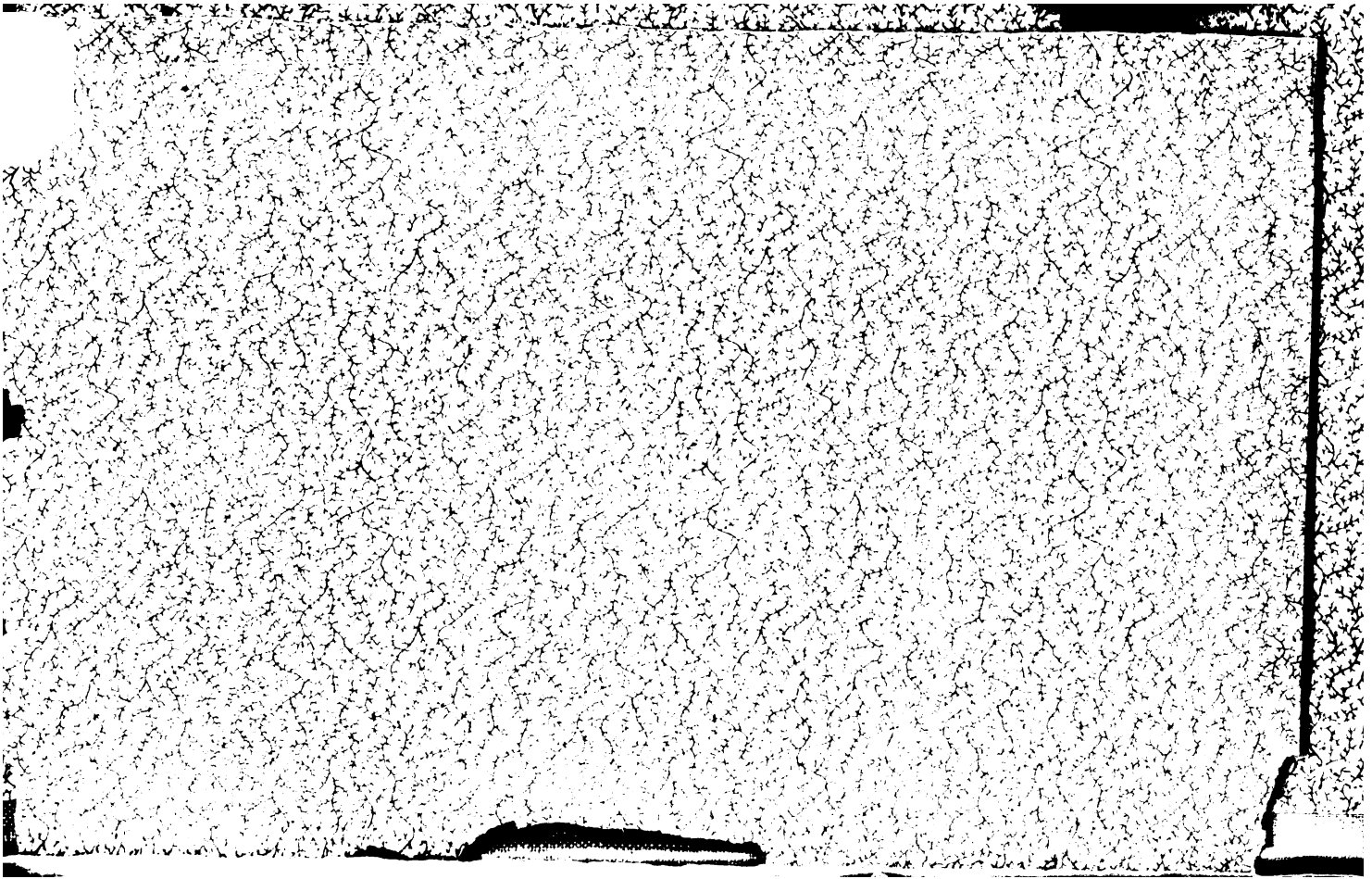

The True Story of Captain John Smith

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PORTRAIT OF CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH

True Story of Captain John Smith

[illegible]

[illegible]

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1901

These are the LINES that shew thy Face but those
That shew thy Grace and Glory brighter bee:
Thy Faire-Discoveries and Fowle-Overthrowes
Of Salvages, much Civilliz'd by thee
[illegible] shew thy Spirit, and to it Glory Give
[illegible] not Praise without, but Golde within,
[illegible] soft smiths Acts to beare,
[illegible] Fame, to make Praise steele out weare.

[illegible] as thou art Virtues.
[illegible] Davies. Herf.

PORTRAIT OF CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH

The True Story of Captain John Smith

BY

KATHARINE PEARSON WOODS

Author of "Metzerott, Shoemaker."

"Then seeing we are not borne for ourselues, but each to helpe other, and our abilities are much alike at the houre of our birth and the minute of our death: Seeing our good deedes or our badde, by faith in Christ's merits, is all we haue to carry our soules to heauen or hell: Seeing honour is our liues ambition; and our ambition after death to haue an honourable memory of our life: and seeing by no meanes wee would bee abated of the dignities and glories of our Predecessors: Let us imitate their vertues to be worthily their

"Successors."

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH,

"Description of New England," 1616.

NEW YORK

DOUBLEDAY, PAGE & COMPANY

1901

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November, 1901

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TO
THE MEMORY OF MY GRANDFATHER
THE REVEREND JAMES DABNEY McCABE, D. D.
AN OLD VIRGINIA GENTLEMAN, THIS
STORY OF THE FOUNDER OF
VIRGINIA IS LOVINGLY
DEDICATED

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the Peabody Library, Baltimore, from the "Atlas Russicus," issued in 1745 by the Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg. The volume in the Peabody Library bears the book-plate of Charles Carroll.

The third map quoted is yet older, having been printed in Paris in 1631. It is one of a collection made by the late Bishop Whittingham of Maryland, the founder of the Maryland Diocesan Library, among whose treasures it is still numbered. The photograph herewith published was made for the purpose by the assistant librarian of this institution, my dear friend Mr. William Franklin Koopman, whose early death deprived me of a valuable fellow-worker. "The True Story of Captain John Smith" owes its origin indirectly to his influence, and could scarcely have been finished without his sympathetic readiness to aid my researches. I avail myself therefore of this opportunity to acknowledge my indebtedness to his friendship, and to offer a tribute to the memory which shines as brightly as a sunbeam in the hearts of all who were brought into contact with his bright, cheery self-forgetfulness.

Of the other illustrations the portrait of Captain John Smith is too well known to need further comment. The two portraits of Pocahontas claim each to be the only authentic presentment of her features. The authority for that which is herein termed the Sully portrait is fully given in the "History of the Indian Tribes of North America," Vol. III, page 53. I have found two slightly differing copies of the painting made by Mr. R. M. Sully in 1830, from a picture

certainly very old, and so tattered that he had great difficulty in piecing it together.

The "Rolfe portrait" is said to be still in existence, in the possession of descendants of that family in England. The photograph herewith given is taken from "Pocahontas and Her Descendants," by Mr. Wyndham Robertson, and was photographed from the original painting by consent of the owners at his request. It is evidently the original of the usual school history portrait, the differences being due to nearly three hundred years of engraving and re-engraving at second, third, fourth, and Heaven knows how many hands, until some of the existing results are too hideous for publication. The authenticity of the original is guaranteed by the engraving of it published in 1616.

The memorial to John Smith, spoken of in Chapters XVI. and XXV., is in the National Library in Washington, the southwest pavilion, second floor. I quote the official guide book:

"The discovery and settlement of America supply the theme of George W. Maynard's decorations. The four wall paintings are allegories of Adventure, Discovery, Conquest and Civilization.

"Adventure, clad in armor of gold and purple robes, holds a drawn sword and the Caduceus, or Mercury's magic wand. On her right is the genius of the England of Drake's time; on her left that of Spain of the sixteenth century. England holds a cutlass, while one hand gathers up pieces of eight, the silver coin which rewarded English adventure on the Span-

ish Main. Spain is armed with the battleaxe and holds an image of gold, suggestive of the plundered temples of Mexico and Peru. The shields supporting these figures show the Viking ship. The shields in the corners are emblazoned with the arms of England and Spain. In the field of the panel are written the names of the adventurers. For England: Drake, Cavendish, Raleigh, Smith, Frobisher, Gilbert. On the other side: Diaz, Coelho, Cabeza, Verrazano, Bastidas. Above each is the ancient naval crown, a golden circlet of the prows of ships, awarded for signal naval achievement. Beneath the painting are the mottoes: Enterprise, Opportunity, Fortune."

Baltimore, October, 1901.

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His Education

The True Story of Captain John Smith

CHAPTER I.

How He Set Forth on His Travels.

On the ninth of January, 1580, or 1579, Old Style, there was baptised, in the parish church of Willoughby, a small town in Lincolnshire, an infant whose name was inscribed upon the parish register as "John, the son of George Smith."* It was a baptism which excited neither more nor less interest than that of any other baby; but it recorded a name which is, as John Fiske has well said, that of "one of those personages about whom writers of history are apt to lose their tempers." We are struck, in reading the various biographies of him, with the fact that it seems impossible to be moderate when he is in question. On the one side, he is made the subject of vehement eulogium, on the other of depreciation which would at times, were he alive to defend himself, constitute ground of action for libel. Yet his character, as he has himself unconsciously recorded it in his "True

*The original Latin entry is as follows: "Iōhes (i. e. Johannes) smith, filius Georgie smith, baptizatus fuit, ixth. die Januarie, Anno supradicto." That is, 1579, the year then beginning in March.

Travels" and other writings, is perfectly simple, and his adventures, however improbable modern writers may choose to consider them, were for the age in which he lived scarcely even unusual, at least for one who, like John Smith, possessed to a remarkable degree that faculty for getting into scrapes, and then getting out again, with which all Americans are supposed to be more or less familiar.

He was born at a period which is itself difficult to understand. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew was eight years before his birth, the defeat of the Invincible Armada was eight years after; he was four years old when, at the instigation of Philip II. of Spain, William the Silent, Prince of Orange, and defender of the Netherlands, fell under the knife of the assassin; and nineteen years after his early death, at the age of fifty, Charles I. of England died by the judgment of his people, under the axe of the headsman. It was a period of transition, when all human institutions had apparently grown plastic and mobile; when chivalry was giving place to commerce, and privateering was leading the way towards exploration and colonization; when Elizabeth's singular but brilliant personality filled the throne of England, when the white plume of Henri de Navarre cast the last brilliant rays of chivalry on the pages of French history, and when Philip II. lowered gloomily amid the baleful radiance of the Inquisition fires, upon the throne of Spain.

The leading powers of the world during the sixteenth and a part of the seventeenth centuries were England

and Spain; the one standing for constitutional liberty, both civil and religious, a national church and a limited monarchy; while the other represented, in their bloodiest and most absolute form, the utter negation of private judgment, and the acceptance of temporalities as free gifts from the sovereign to whom by divine right they inalienably appertained.

Spain had the advantage of a long rope, and she went to the end of her tether. Her treasure galleons filled the purse of the king, who used them for the enrichment and sustainment of the Inquisition, the most formidable engine of tyranny ever established. Yet the Holy Office, as it was politely called, was no invention of Spain, but had existed for the suppression of heresy and the promotion of decency and order among the faithful almost since the earliest days of the See of Rome. It was under Ferdinand the Catholic, and Isabella, the patroness of Columbus, that it assumed, through the genius of the celebrated Dominican monk, Torquemada, terrible proportions.

Philip II. of Spain undertook to become the champion of the Catholic Faith. The last remains of Protestantism were stamped out in Spain; the Netherlands were laid waste by a religious war. When Elizabeth refused to succeed her sister as Queen of Spain, as well as of England, he seized a brief opportunity, while, after the murder of the Prince of Orange, the Netherlands lay apparently helplessly submissive at his feet, to prepare a vast armada, laden with soldiers and priests, with engines of warfare and instruments of torture, and set sail from Spain, to

bring Spanish rule and the Inquisition into the nome of Magna Charta.

It is curious to note the points of resemblance and also of dissimilarity between this great sea fight under the Duke of Medina-Sidonia and Sir Francis Drake, and those later ones in Manila Bay and off Santiago de Cuba. In each case the number of ships was about the same on either side; in each case the superiority of the Saxon race was due to better and newer guns, and better men behind them. But the ships of the Armada were huge, cumbrous and unwieldy; it was easy for the smaller, more compact, better handled and equipped ships of Drake, to pound them to splinters, while themselves keeping out of the way of the shorter range guns of the Spaniard. Then came the retreat through the North Sea, with its horrors of storm and shipwreck; a retreat which Fiske compares to Napoleon's retreat from Moscow, and which brought home to Spain a proportion scarce larger of those who survived.

But the power of Spain, though checked, was not overthrown; for still her thousands of Indian slaves toiled under the whip in the Peruvian mines, still their labor freighted huge treasure galleons and supplied Philip with means to fit out, as it seemed, an infinite succession of Armadas, whose power there might remain, at last, neither English ship nor English sailor to meet and conquer. Thus, the final issue of the conflict still seemed far from assured; and victory was likely to perch upon his banners who could hold out longest, while this very staying power

seemed rather a matter of money than of men. Now money, at least in its crude form, was to be found beyond all the tales of Eastern magic in this new world across the Western sea; therefore the struggle resolved itself into a race for the possession of America.

But the Spaniard, to whom the Holy Father at Rome had given all the new world, had succeeded in laying a firm grasp upon the southern portion of it, and had begun to effect settlements even in North America itself. The policy, therefore, of men as far-seeing in statesmanship as Drake and Raleigh was to settle colonies in that unknown territory which in their time began to be known as Virginia; and meantime to cut off the supplies of gold which, from Lima and kindred ports, were yearly sent home to Spain. Their confidence of discovering gold upon the eastern as well as the western coast of America; the instructions to the colonists, which in the latter part of this volume we shall find hampering the Jamestown colony, to proceed overland and so reach the South Sea, or Pacific Ocean, are less absurd than they now appear to us. For John Smith himself, is the first cosmographer whose maps of the New World possess more than a vestige of verisimilitude; and even Smith's charts extended but little inward from the coast. It was his inquiries among the Indians that convinced him that the continent of North America was much greater in extent than had previously been supposed; but if we glance for a moment at the now familiar map of the Western hemisphere, we shall readily excuse the mistake of our forefathers in sup-

posing that North America extended no further west than South America; and that the South Sea was, therefore, to be found not much beyond the scene of De Soto's voyage and death upon the waters of the Mississippi.

While this was the state of affairs between the two great powers of Europe, France was absorbed in civil strife, and Germany in beating back the power of the Turk. The St. Bartholomew had slain the sovereign under whom it had taken place, as surely as any Huguenot who fell before the knife of a white-sleeved Catholic; Henri de Navarre, of whose nuptials with Margaret of Valois it had been the crowning festivity, only saved his own life by abjuring Protestantism; a life which, whether as Catholic or Huguenot, was largely passed in a fierce struggle with the nobles who constituted the Catholic League. It was a weakening of the combined strength of Catholicism to assist him in this conflict, as also to aid by supplies of men and money the revolted burghers of the Netherlands; consequently we find Elizabeth of England taking this course, though in a half-hearted and penurious way; and Henri himself fighting at times in support and defence of Spain's rebellious provinces.

Protestantism versus Catholicism was thus the apparent issue in Western Europe; but in its Eastern portion the very existence of Christendom still appeared to hang in the balance. The fall of Constantinople in 1453 had given the conquering Turk a foothold there which he was not slow to enlarge and strengthen; and about the period at which we have

now arrived (1580–1600) he was still a force to be reckoned with. The whole peninsula of Greece, with the Balkan States, were divided into Turkish military fiefs; Wallachia, Moldavia, Transylvania, retained a semblance of independence, but only by permission of the Ottoman Sultan; and through the very midst of Hungary he had extended a long arm, establishing a pachalik in Buda. The Greek Empire, driven from the city of Constantine, had found a refuge among the snows of the frozen north, but the White Tsar was as yet scarcely a factor in European politics, and all of Southern Russia, then called Tartaria, was occupied by wandering hordes of Tartars, the friends and allies of the Turk, and in large numbers his subjects. Here and there was a Russian garrison or trading post; but for the most part the only habitations were the white covered Tartar wagons.

Of all this complex situation the final outcome was hard to foresee. That the great Ottoman power was rotten at the heart, eaten away by social, domestic and political corruption; that Tartar barbarism could never finally triumph over civilization; that freemen must in the long run be victorious over slaves—few were long-sighted and courageous enough to predict. But it was a stirring time, when a lad of mettle was pardonable for a little impatience and overhaste to take his part in the struggle.

The young John Smith records of himself that he received his early education in the free schools of Alford and Louth; two small towns, yet somewhat more important than Willoughby, at only a few miles'

distance. In his chronicle of this part of his history, he is somewhat hard to follow; able, when he chose, to be accurate within half a point of the compass, he allows himself to speak, as it were, in round numbers of his boyhood. It was, however, between his thirteenth and fifteenth years that his restlessness gave most trouble to his parents and guardians;-and that he even sold his books, satchel and all his possessions in order to obtain the means to go forth into the world to seek his fortune; but the illness and subsequent death of his father restrained him.

His parents, though with some claim, as we shall see, to gentle blood, belonged to the class of sturdy yeomen, the backbone of English freedom, who, alike in New England and Virginia, were soon to lay the corner-stone of American liberty; his father being descended from the "ancient Smiths of Crudley,"* while his mother was a "Rickand,† of great Heck in Yorkshire." They were people of means, tenants of a copyhold farm under Lord Willoughby de Eresby. His father also possessed tenements in the town of Louth, and other property, as set forth in his will, which, bearing date of 1596, affords us a certain point of departure from which to reckon the adventures of the son.

"His parents dying" about this time, "left him a competent means which he, not being able to manage, little regarded." It consisted of a sum of ready money, and seven acres of pasture, lying within

*Curdley or Cuardley.

†Rickard, according to Burke's Encyclopædia of Heraldry.

the territory of Charlton Magna; the tenements in Louth were left to Francis, the younger son, and the lease of the farm to his wife Alice, as the curious reader may find in the appendix.

John Smith was either immediately before or shortly after his father's death apprenticed to a merchant of Lynn, Master Thomas Sendall, the greatest merchant of all those parts. Doubtless the career thus selected for him was a stirring trade. Merchant ships voyaged to the most distant parts of the world, and each carried for her own protection a full complement of cannon and musketry, for defence against pirates and other evil-inclined persons. A life that would have suited our hero sufficiently well; but his patience deserted him when he found himself obliged first to learn the routine of mercantile life ashore; because Master Sendall "did not presently send him to sea, he never saw his master in eight years after."

It was at this time, as we know from other sources, that Master Peregine Barty, or Bertie, the younger son of the patron and friend of Smith's father, "that generous nobleman and famous soldier, Lord Willoughby," was sent abroad to join his elder brother, Robert, then at Orleans, in order that the two youths might take advantage of the time of peace inaugurated in this year between Henri IV. and the League, to see a little of the world; "both being," as Smith says, "but little youths under tutelage," though both were older than he who thus characterizes them. Smith found means to join the youthful traveler, either upon the road or in London itself; in which great city

he seems to have found his guardians, "who, more regarding his estate than him, he had liberty enough, but no means, to get beyond sea." At last they "liberally gave him, but out of his own estate, ten shillings to be rid of him;" a much larger sum, as regards its purchasing power, in those days than at present,* and not, after all, illiberal towards a runaway apprentice, whose dues, had his master chosen to invoke the letter of the law in his case, were the stocks, the whipping post, or even branding on the cheek or forehead. Moreover, he was now attached to the household of Lord Willoughby, and certain to be taken care of abroad, or else provided with means to return home; and this confidence of Smith's guardians was, as we shall see, amply justified by the Berties. So we shall be forced to acquit the trustees of his estate of anything but kind, though perhaps impatient prudence in refusing to turn over to this hot-head his entire patrimony, in that form in which he could most easily get rid of it. His subsequent recklessness and readiness to allow himself to be imposed upon, show how little he was to be trusted with any large amount, especially at this period of his life.

But he had at all events gained his point; he was free to make his first step into the great world; and it was with a head full of brilliant visions, and a heart

*Mr. Alexander Brown in the Genesis of the limited States vol. ii, page —— seems to estimate the English pound of Smith's time as equaling about twenty-five dollars of our modern American money; a valuation which is followed throughout this volume. Ten shillings would thus equal about twelve dollars and fifty cents.

beating high with generous and ardent courage, that he crossed the channel, and traveled through France, to Orleans, where Robert Bertie awaited him.

CHAPTER II.

How He Fought in the Netherlands, and Came Again to Willoughby.

"The Right Honorable Peregrine, that generous Lord Willoughby, and famous soldier," as Smith calls him, was the then head and worthy representative of an old and famous family. The lordship of Eresby settled by William the Conqueror upon Walter de Bec, passed through the female line to the house of Willoughby; and Robert Willoughby for valor in the French and Scottish wars of Edward I., was in 1313 created Baron Willoughby de Eresby. Katharine, daughter of William, the tenth baron, and a peeress in her own right, married, first, Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, the widowed husband of the beautiful Mary Tudor; and, second, Richard Bertie. Having embraced the Protestant faith, Mr. Bertie and the Duchess of Suffolk, as she continued to be called, were forced to flee to the continent during the persecution under Bloody Mary; and their eldest son, who was born during this exile, was given the name of Peregrine, because of his birth *in terra peregrina*. He married Lady Mary Vere, daughter of that John, sixteenth earl of Oxford, who is held in affectionate remembrance by readers of "Anne of Geierstein," as the sympathetic father of a son who existed

only in the imagination of the novelist. For, in default of male heirs, Robert Bertie, eldest son of Oxford's only daughter and heiress, claimed the earldom of Oxford, as well as his grandfather's office of Lord High Chamberlain of England. To the earldom his claim was disallowed; but he held the chamberlainship under James I. and Charles I.; and during the civil wars that vexed the unhappy reign of the last named, he was appointed commander-in-chief of the royal forces (having been created Earl of Lindsay under James I.) and was mortally wounded at the battle of Edgehill. Peregrine, the younger brother, after a career of some distinction as a barrister at law, died, as Sir Peregrine Bertie, in 1640, aged 64.

To any but the expectation of sixteen it would have appeared from the first highly unlikely that the "tutelage" of youths so nobly born and distinguished should be willing to shelter a runaway apprentice; and we find accordingly that our young friend was commanded by "these Honorable Brethren" to return straightway to England, and provided with ample funds for the purpose. He set forth in apparent obedience, and got as far as Paris; but, as he says frankly, to return to London was "the least thought of his determination." At which one can hardly wonder. For he had achieved the liberty he so dearly desired, his pockets were full, "the world was all before him where to choose" and full of delightful adventures, whereby to win the fame and fortune that, as we must remember, had been achieved almost within his own recollection, by such men as Drake,

Raleigh, Hawkins, and others, some not so well born as himself, others only a trifle higher in the social scale, and all equally penniless at the outset.

And had his intentions been ever so good when he left Orleans, Paris, in the first flush of her rejoicing at the return of peace, and the coming of Henri de Navarre, must have been singularly attractive. We need be surprised only that he fell into no worse scrape than the acquaintance of Mr. David Hume, a gentleman of Scotland, who "made some use of his purse," and offered him in magnificent return letters to friends at home. These by their good offices were to help the young adventurer to immediate preferment under King James VI. of Scotland, upon whom, as a sun soon to rise upon the throne of England, all eyes were bent, as the coming source of honor, wealth and fame.

But Master Hume's use of his purse had been to such purpose that when Smith reached Rouen he found himself at the bottom of it, and unable to pay his expenses further. He, therefore, looked about him for some means of replenishing his empty treasury, and, nothing turning up at Rouen, "down the river he went to Havre de Grace," where he "first began to learn the life of a soldier," under Captain Joseph Duxbury, with whom he went into the Low Countries.

Henri de Navarre had saved his life at "the wedding with bloody favors," only by abjuring his faith; but three years after, he again professed himself a Huguenot. But upon his accession to the throne at the

death of Henri III. in 1589,* in order to conciliate his Roman Catholic subjects, who were largely in the majority, he once more adopted that religion. That he was sincere in all these changes is not to be supposed for a moment, and yet that he was honest after his lights is beyond a question. For, in the broken and distracted state of Protestantism which prevailed at that moment upon the continent, when men were burning, imprisoning and torturing one another for the minutest shades of doctrinal difference, it may well have appeared to an intellect so acute and sarcastic as that of Henry, that one set of dogmas was, after all, about as incredible as another; and that the wisest course, as well as the easiest, was that of politic yielding to circumstances. Certainly he tried to deal truly with the adherents of both religions in his own dominions; and abroad he rendered all the assistance to Protestantism that was at all possible. In this year, 1596, he found himself strong enough to force his rebellious subjects of the Catholic League into a peace, and at the same time to publish the Edict of Nantes. This celebrated edict secured freedom of conscience throughout the realm; admitted the followers of the new religion to civil offices, to schools and universities, on equal terms with Roman Catholics; established mixed courts, for the settlement of matters in which members of both faiths were interested; and also permitted the Huguenots to assemble for worship at certain specified places.

Which final permission reminds us forcibly of the

*The formal abjuration was in 1593.

alleged derivation of the name Huguenot; i. e., from "le roy Hugon, or Huguon," a goblin, who, says Etienne Pasquier (in one of whose letters the word first occurs), nightly roamed the streets of the city of Tours; whence the Protestants, who dared not meet save under cover of the darkness, came to be called Huguenots. When we remember the number of derisive titles given to new faiths, which have afterward become titles of honor, we are inclined to favor this derivation more than that which traces the word to the German Eidgenossen, or Oath-companions, or than any of the numerous etymologies which have been suggested for the much disputed word.

We do not know whether Captain Joseph Duxbury was or was not a Huguenot; though if an Englishman, as his name would seem to indicate, he may very likely have been a Protestant. He was, however, most probably a captain of free lances, recruiting his troop at Havre, with a sword and a conscience at the disposal of whatever leader should desire to purchase them. Such a captain would find plenty, both of employment and booty, for himself and his men in the Netherlands, still at war with Spain, though nominally under the rule of a Spanish governor. This functionary, in the year in which we write, was the Cardinal Archduke Albert, Archbishop of Toledo, youngest brother of Rudolph, Emperor of Germany. At his coming to the country he brought with him the younger son of William the Silent, the youthful Philip William of Nassau, who had fallen into the hands of Philip of Spain, and had been educated

under Jesuit influences, in the Roman Catholic faith. He was now endowed with all the honors and estates of his father, properly appertaining to his heroic brother, Maurice of Nassau; and was returned in this fashion to his native land, to influence and conciliate the stubborn and rebellious burghers. But the Society of Jesus had done their work too well; with Protestantism and patriotism they had rooted out all individuality and force of character. His very resemblance to his gallant father served only to excite a contemptuous pity in the hearts of those who beheld him.

We may, perhaps, infer that John Smith's warlike experiences in these distracted lands were about as brilliant and important as one might expect of a mere lad, a private soldier, without money, friends or influence. From his own account we gather that he required instruction at first even in sitting his horse, and the use of arms; and in the year 1598 he either tired of the work, his term of enlistment having probably expired, or was thrown out of service by some accident, which may have been another treaty of peace. For in that year Henri IV. made peace with Spain, by the treaty of Vervins, and withdrew his troops from the Netherlands. This defection forced Elizabeth either to yield the field to Philip, or to takes sides openly with the United Provinces. She chose the latter course, to which the death of her trusted counsellor, Lord Burleigh, in this same year, probably left her more inclined; Burleigh's caution having chiefly influenced her former policy. Yet Elizabeth had some grounds for displeasure with the

Provinces, whose merchants persisted in trading secretly with Spain, while their country struggled in what had seemed a death-grapple with Philip; for an English subject, on the other hand, it was death to hold any commerce with a Spaniard, whose gold was to him as Samson's unshorn locks.

And, as one of the small results of these great events, Master Smith, resolving to present at last his letters in Scotland, made his way to Enkhuisen on the Zuyder Zee, where he took ship for Leith.

He was still considerably under twenty, however much time we allow for his discharge and for the journey; and so far, the passage from Dover to Calais had been his longest experience of the sea-faring life for which he had been so impatient. The time of the year we know not, but the North Sea is proverbially far from placid; storm and shipwreck were the frequent portion of the small, slightly built vessels of that day, and they now befell John Smith, who lay ill in consequence for some time at "Holy Isle," or Lindisfarn, near Berwick.

Upon his recovery he proceeded into Scotland to present his letters, but found that the friends of Master Hume, though they were all kindness, supplied neither money nor means to make him a courtier. Probably they lacked the ability to do so; at all events nothing seemed left him but to return to Willoughby, where means of his own were to be obtained, and whence he might make a new beginning.

He found himself to his surprise the lion of the

countryside; whose open-mouthed admiration was a contrast so great to his own consciousness that his first campaign had fallen very far short of his expectations and intentions regarding it, that he built him a pavilion of green boughs by a fair brook, "in a little woody pasture, a good way from any town, environed with many acres of other woods."* Hither he retired himself with his horse, his servant, a lance, and two books, Macchiavelli's "Art of War," and "Marcus Aurelius;" and here he spent some months, lying all the while under the not very disagreeable suspicion, to a lad of his mettle, of poaching the deer in the neighboring forests. His servant brought him what meat he needed, he tells us, with some dignity; possibly it may not have been beneath the servant's dignity to kill a fine buck or two, while his master worked hard and stubbornly to learn the craft of the soldier, obstinately resolved to attain success in his next venture, and practising the exercises of chivalry with his horse, lance and a ring.

It was not the sort of life that his respectable yeoman friends and relatives considered desirable for him; and to wile him from it gently they induced to visit him and make his acquaintance, Signor Theodore Polaloga, an Italian gentleman of "languages and good discourse," rider or Equerry, to Henry, Earl of Lincoln; whose seat, Tattershall, was only a few miles away.

*Possibly this was his own seven acres near Charlton or Carleton Magna.

Thither Smith was induced to go to visit the Italian gentleman, and there it is probable that he spent some months.

Henry, Earl of Lincoln, seems never during his life to have held any public office; and we first hear of him in a letter complaining of the injustice and unkindness of his half-brothers and sisters. This gives us no very exalted opinion of his capacity; and he seems to have led a retired life, surrounding himself perhaps chiefly with those who, like Signor Polaloga, might beguile the tedium of a country life with languages and good discourse. His father, on the contrary, twice filled the office of Lord High Admiral of England, and seems also to have been a patron of learning; since William Bourne, the father of modern military and naval gunnery, as well as of the signal service of our times, dedicated to him his "Regiment (Rules) of the Sea."

Bourne, who began life as a simple gunner at Gravesend, was a very prolific author; and it is perhaps not an unwarranted stretch of the imagination to infer that Smith found in his pages the device which was to prove his first means of usefulness and claim to distinction. The "Stratagem of Lights," which brought our hero into notice at the siege of Ober-Limbach, evidently is number seventy-five of Bourne's "Inventions and Devises, very Necessary for all Generalles and Captaines or Leaders of Men as Well by Sea as by Land." The only doubtful point is whether the young student found his "Invention" in Lord Lincoln's library, or, perhaps in some other

collection of books, read it in the pages of Polybius,* whence the English author derived it. †

"But long," says Smith, "these pleasures could not content him, but he returned to the Low Countries."

*It is doubtful whether Smith could have read this author in the original.

†In his "Accidence for Young Seamen" Smith refers to Bourne as an author to be studied; but this only proves his later familiarity with that author.

CHAPTER III.

How He Set Forth Again Into the World, and Came to Gratz in Styria.

Throughout the whole of Smith's life there is an obvious moral, though he is far from detecting it; far, at least, from expressing any sense of such detection. But whether or no in his own mind he was conscious of any sort of poetical justice in the matter, certain it is, that having run away from a master who, of all others could have furthered his later usefulness to the world, he attached himself to "two Honorable Brethren" who "had no use for his services," and sent him home accordingly; and now, in his second essay after fame and fortune, we shall find that he has neglected the overtures of Signor Polaloga, and disdained the inglorious quietude of Tattershall, only to fall into the hands of those who meant less well, and far less sincerely.

He was now, (about 1600) twenty years of age; and "France and the Netherlands had taught him to ride a horse and to use his arms, with such rudiments of war as his tender years could attain unto," but his desire now was, as he tells us, "to see more of the world, and try his fortune against the Turk; both repenting and lamenting to have seen so many Christians slaughter one another."

This was an unusual frame of mind for a young Englishman of his time, for whom His Holiness, the Pope, was heathen enough for all warlike purposes. Spain was the foe of the human race, and the Netherlands as properly the school of war as a gymnasium is the lawful exercise ground for modern youth. But Smith shows himself, all through his writings, as one in advance of his times; and though in his later years sincerely religious, he was always wonderfully tolerant, as we shall see.

Upon his coming into the Low Countries, he fell at once into the company of a certain Lord Depreau, as he called himself, who was with his three followers, Cursell, or Courcelles, La Nelie and Monferrat, or Montferrat, bound upon an errand which the English adventurer found very attractive. Upon the conclusion of peace between Henri IV. and the League, one of the most powerful Catholic nobles of France had requested leave to carry his sword against the Turk; finding it easier to serve under a foreign prince than to bow his head before a sovereign who had conquered him, and whose secret Protestantism was always suspected and detested by his Catholic subjects. This noble was Philippe Emanuel de Lorraine, duc de Mercoeur, whom Smith, with the Anglicizing of proper names that was common to Englishmen of his day, calls "Duke Mercury."* Rudolph II. the German Emperor, personally a weaker man than had for several reigns filled the throne of the Western Cæsars, or

*Haylyn calls him Duke Mercurio. He is said to have been first identified in this connection by Edward Eggleston.

even than the two brothers who in turn succeeded him, was an ardent champion of Catholicism, and a fervent persecutor of the heretics; to him, accordingly, after the death of Philip II. Catholic eyes turned, as the most effectual defender of the faith, the young Philip III. having his hands full in Spain, racking, thumbscrewing and burning those unfortunate Moors who still lingered among the ruins of their former power and splendor.

Rudolph himself was rather busy about this time; for the Turks were making themselves more than usually troublesome in Hungary and Transylvania; and Mercoeur obtaining leave to carry his sword to the assistance of the Emperor, had set forth at least a year previously, leaving his duchess behind in France. To her these four gallants declared themselves bound, and thither they persuaded young Smith to accompany them; hoping, as they said, to obtain from her money for their expenses, and letters of introduction to her husband, into whose service they proposed to enter.

The young adventurer, who was well furnished, both in purse and apparel, had not yet learned to distrust a plausible tale; the scheme, offering as it did opportunity of seeing immediate service under so noted a captain, commended itself to him at once. So, despite the inclemency of the weather—for it was winter—he embarked with them, from what Netherlandish port we are not told, and arrived in the dark night in the broad, shallow inlet of St. Valery sur Somme in Picardy, where they had designed to land.

Here his plausible companions so wrought with the captain that he set them on shore with all their own baggage and Smith's also, and by some pretext or stratagem, left him behind upon the ship. Moreover, they managed to detain the boat until towards the evening of the following day; when the captain, upon his return, alleged, in reply to the reproaches of his young passenger, that it had been impossible to make the trip earlier, as the sea ran too high for a boat to live. But the Lord Depreau, he said, had gone on ahead to Amiens, where he would wait for Smith to join him. To other passengers, who had, as it now appeared, been aware from the first of the character of this alleged nobleman, but had naturally supposed Smith to be as well informed as themselves, now understood by this altercation that the matter was one of foul cozenage; and many of them were moved to the point of threatening the captain's life, and "had they known how, would have run away with the ship." As they did not know how, and perhaps also had errands of their own in one or another direction, their interposition resulted simply in Smith being set ashore, with but a single carralue (about the value of an English penny) in his pocket, to work out his vengeance for himself.

In his company was a soldier called Curzianvere, the proper spelling of whose name it is impossible to divine. France was at this time full of soldiers of fortune, who, banished from their homes for some offence, civil or religious, found a career in the wars that vexed the time, and preserved their personal

liberty by remaining literally "at large." Curzianvere's purse happened to be well filled at this moment, fortunately for Smith; for, finding the young man had been obliged to sell his cloak to provide for his further travel, Curzianvere took his expenses upon himself; telling him, moreover, that the so-called Lord Depreau was only the son of a lawyer of Mortagne, in Lower Brittany, and his three attendants were young citizens of the same town, all as arrant cheats as himself; to whose presence, if as was likely, they had returned home with their booty, he offered to guide the cozened and indignant Englishman.

We need not burden the reader with our hero's itinerary of towns visited under the leadership of Monsieur Curzianvere. At Caen he records that he was kindly received by the Prior of the Abbey of St. Stephen—the monasteries were still hostelries in chief in some portions of Europe—where he saw the ruinous tomb of William the Conqueror; and that through the furtherance of the Prior and other friends of Curzianvere they came safe to Mortagne.

Where, indeed, were Depreau and his friends, but to small purpose, since Curzianvere was outlawed and unable to show himself in public, much less to testify in a court of law; the four gentlemanly swindlers were therefore left in peace with their ill-got wealth, at least in such peace as shall presently appear. Meantime the well-looking young Englishman was cordially received by certain friends of Curzianvere, who in all probability may have shared his delicacy of feeling, and refrained from thrusting themselves

upon the notice of the public. But a very jolly set of outlaws, no doubt; broken and penniless noblemen, if the titles were real by which our hero calls them. These "Honorable persons," Smith tells us, supplied his wants, and would have been glad to have him recreate himself with them as long as he would; "but such pleasant pleasures suited little with his poor estate, and his restless spirit, that could never find content, to receive such noble favors, as he could neither deserve nor requite."

He took therefore from them only sufficient funds to continue his journey; hoping in some Breton or Norman port to find a "man-of-war," under whom he might find employment; but in "wandering from port to port, he spent that he had; and in a forest, near dead with grief and cold, a rich farmer found him by a fair fountain under a tree. This "kind peasant relieved him to his content," and when warmed and fed, the persistent adventurer "followed his intent."

Not many days after, in a great grove of trees, between Pontorsan and Dinan, he encountered Courcelles, in a condition yet more miserable than his own. Long and fierce civil war had wasted all the fair land of France, and as one of its many memorials had left, within eyeshot of the grove, an old ruined tower, which afforded an imperfect shelter to dwellers as ruined as itself. These, peeping forth from the loopholes, saw the young Englishman draw his sword and run headlong upon his foe, who straightway fell to the ground. They seem to have rushed to the rescue of a fellow-

countryman; but arrived in time to hear him confess his misdeeds, and how they four rogues, in dividing the spoil, had fallen by the ears among themselves. Courcelles may have come by the worst in this quarrel also; for he professed himself entirely innocent; but to Smith his guilt or innocence was a matter of indifference, since no restitution of the spoil was in his power. Therefore, "glad to be rid of him," he parted company with the deceiver, and pursued his own course towards the residence of an honorable lord whom he calls the Earl of Ployer. This gentleman with his two brothers, "Viscount Poomory and Baron d'Mercy,"* as Smith calls them, had been brought up in England during the wars of the League, quite possibly as prisoners or hostages of Lord Willoughby, who commanded at one time the English contingent. They were at all events personal acquaintances of Smith, received him warmly, and, after showing him all the noted sights of Brittany, sent him on his way so well provided with money that he seems to have made, thereafter, his leisurely way as a gentleman traveler through all the most noted cities of Southern France. At Marseilles he embarked for Italy, his journey to which country was to prove more than usually eventful, even in his already varied experience.

For, having put to sea, the weather proving contrary, they took refuge in the harbor of Toulon; and

*Pommery and de Marsay. Smith afterward called a headland of the Chesapeake by the name of Point Ployer; an incidental proof of the truth of this story.

when venturing forth again, in a treacherous lull of the storm, they found themselves again in peril, they anchored close ashore, under the lee of the little island of St. Mary's. The ship was bound for Civita Vecchia, her passengers were pilgrims to the sacred shrines of Rome, or pious Provençeaux; to both classes it appeared perfectly clear that the presence of a heretical English pirate on board had provoked the anger of the saints and the fury of the elements. To adherents of the Pope the exploits of Drake had made Englishman and pirate convertible terms, and equally terrible upon the high seas; and Smith's fellow-voyagers now betook themselves to personal abuse of him and all his race, and to such "vild railing" against his queen as he could by no means stomach. Never, said they, should they have fair weather, so long as this heretic Jonah remained aboard; and "their disputations grew to such a point that they threw him overboard; yet God brought him to that little isle, where was no inhabitants, but a few sheep and goats."

But when morning dawned it appeared that two other ships had been driven by the storm to the same harborage; and Smith was picked up by one of these, the captain of which proved to be a native of Brittany called La Roche. Smith's friend, the Earl of Ployer, was therefore well known to him, at least by report; and he entertained the rescued adventurer "for the love of his well-esteemed friend."

The ship seems to have been covertly a privateer, under guise of an honest merchantman. Her course

was by Corsica and Sardinia, across the Gulf of Tunis, and finally to Alexandria, where she discharged her cargo. The Breton then cruised about in the Ionian Sea, and among the Greek Islands, looking for a prey, as openly as the doughty Earl of Douglas rode to England; and at last, in the straits of Otranto, he came upon an argosy, or treasure-ship, of Venice. Now Venice was fair game to a privateer, either Catholic or Huguenot. For, in 1572, in the gulf of the same name, there had been fought the celebrated battle of Lepanto, under Don John of Austria, commanding the forces of the Holy League (Spain, Venice and the Pope) against the Turks. The Christians had won an overwhelming victory, which gave to Catholicism another and perhaps a better occasion for thanksgiving than the St. Bartholomew festivities of the same year. But the Venetians, almost immediately, faithlessly withdrew from the League, and made a separate peace with the Moslem, their subsequent trade and constant friendly intercourse with whom was a sufficiently good *casus belli*, when their treasure ships proved especially well laden.

On this occasion the argosy seemed at first more disposed to flee than to fight; but when to her captain's polite greeting, an uncivil answer was returned by the Breton, she seems to have drawn first blood; and there followed a fierce sea-fight, in which the Venetian stood to his guns like a man. But the treasure-ship of those days was tub-like and unwieldy, built neither for fighting nor running away; and now proved simply an easy target for the guns of the

Breton, who "shot her so often between wind and water she was ready to sink; then they yielded; the Breton lost fifteen men, she twenty, besides others that were hurt."

Having taken from the prize all that their ship would hold of silks, velvets, cloth of gold, piasters and sequins, and leaving in her as much merchandise as would have freighted another Breton, they cast her adrift, doubtless with the advice to "sink or swim," and only regretting that they had not men enough to make prize of her and the rest of her cargo.

Captain La Roche then designed to put into some Calabrian harbor to repair damages; but, hearing of six or seven Turkish galleys at Messina, he kept his course along the coast of Sicily, passed again Sardinia and Corsica, and finally, at Smith's request, landed him in Piedmont, with, as his share of the booty—he had no doubt taken part in the fight as a "gentleman adventurer"—five hundred sequins, or nearly twelve hundred dollars, and "a little box God sent him, worth near as much more."

From Piedmont he sailed for Leghorn, which he reached without adventure; his object, he tells us, was to better his experience by the view of Italy. In Siena he found the two Bertie brothers "cruelly wounded in a desperate fray, yet to their exceeding great honor." He is careful to give Robert Bertie his new title of Lord Willoughby, and as the father of the two young men died in June, 1601, this assures us that we have now reached in Smith's career nearly the beginning of 1602.

Leaving Siena, he passed through many Italian cities on his way to Rome, where he saw "Pope Clement the Eighth with many Cardinals creep up the Holy Stairs, which they say are those our Saviour Christ went up to Pontius Pilate, where blood falling from his head being pricked with his crown of thorns, the drops are marked with nails of steel. Upon them none dare go but in that manner, saying so many Ave-Maries and Paternosters as is their devotion, and to kiss the nails of steel. But on each side is a pair of such-like stairs, up which you may go, stand or kneel; but divided from the Holy Stairs by two walls; right against them is the Chapel, where hangs a great silver lamp, which burneth continually, yet they say the oil neither increaseth nor diminisheth."

It is to be observed that Smith has no word of Protestant reprobation for what he beheld in Rome; and he goes on to record how he saw Pope Clement say Mass in the Church of St. John Lateran, also how he paid a visit to Father Parsons, the noted Jesuit, and about that time the best-hated Englishman living.

Smith seems to have kept in mind, through all his vicissitudes and travel for improvement's sake, his purpose of winning him honor and glory upon the bodies of the misbelieving Turks; for, after seeing many other towns and cities of Italy, he crossed the Adriatic to Ragusa, and thence, "traveling the main," or mainland, to Styria, he reached Grätz, the seat of Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, and afterwards Emperor of Germany.

CHAPTER IV.

How He Won Honor at Ober-Limbach by a Device of Lights.

Sigismund Balthori, Prince of Transylvania, might, had he been piously inclined, have added to that petition in the mediæval Litany concerning the "devil, the Turk and the comet," another clause—"and from the Imperial House of Austria, Good Lord, deliver us!"

It was always the policy of the House of Hapsburg, who for several generations had supplied an Emperor to the Western world, to absorb, one by one, the small principalities that lay, either within or bordering upon, their own dominions; a policy not unknown in our own times. Transylvania was, moreover, as has been said, a dependency of the Ottoman Empire, and lay thus between the devil and the deep sea, the Turk and the Emperor. Unable to maintain herself against the one except through alliance with the other, and conscious that a struggle against either served to strengthen the foe whom for the time she called friend, yet unable to resolve to submit to either, once and for all—the politics of the little mountain land were of necessity very complicated indeed.

The family of Sigismund had risen to power through favor of the Moslem; Stephen Balthori, Bathori, or

Battory, whose original condition was that of a private gentleman, had brought himself into notice by his talents and force of character, and had been appointed by the Turk Vaivode of Transylvania; when the crown of Poland became vacant a timely tribute to the Sultan procured him the election. Upon assuming the crown, his brother Christopher succeeded him as Vaivode, and was the first ruler of Transylvania to assume the title of Prince. Sigismund, the son of Christopher, who succeeded to the principality in 1585, waged against the Turks so successful a warfare as to win for himself the title of the Scanderbeg of the West; but his victories served only to strengthen the hands of the Emperor; and as his resources were exhausted, and his country became almost a desert, he grew disheartened, and made a treaty with Rudolph, by which, in exchange for his hereditary dominions, of which he made total surrender, he received, as he hoped, wealth, peace and the hand of a beautiful bride, a princess of the Imperial family.

But the treaty was displeasing to certain of his kinsmen, who now saw themselves hopelessly deprived of an inheritance of which Sigismund's lack of an heir had made them secure; and the rest of his life is a mere series of vacillations, of resuming the coronet and laying it down again in favor of this one or that; until a final cession to the Emperor obtained for him tranquility for the inglorious close of a gallant and warlike career.

At the time when Smith arrived in Styria, Sigis-

mund was in the midst of his last hopeless struggle. But it was not under Sigismund that Smith was to win his first laurels. Coming to Grätz absolutely unknown, though possibly with letters of introduction from some of his noble friends, he became acquainted with an Englishman, and an Irish Jesuit, who introduced him to many brave gentlemen of good quality, and especially to one whom he calls Lord Ebersbaught. Possibly the name was Ebersberg; but proper names in those times had no fixed spelling, and Smith spelled as he heard. Ebersbaught, having examined him as to his qualifications, and being in particular impressed with the practical usefulness of a certain "Stratagem of Lights" which had been learned, perhaps, from Bourne, recommended him to the notice of Baron Kisell, General of the Artillery; who at once assigned him to duty under Henry Volda, Earl of Meldritch. In attendance upon Meldritch, Smith repaired to Vienna, while Ebersbaught seems to have gone to Ober-Limbach, the command of whose garrison he had either newly received or now assumed after absence on leave from his post.

The Turks at this time were flushed with victory, having just taken the strong town of Caniza—in Hungarian Kanizsa—after a long and obstinate defence. Caniza is situated west of the Platen Sea, or Lake Balaton, upon the river Drave; its fall was a tocsin to Christendom to band together against the advance of the Turk.

For externally the Ottoman Empire appeared strong and vigorous; indeed, of the two religions it was

Islam that was young, and the Cross on whose arms hung the weight of the centuries.

Sinan, the Pacha of Buda, before whom Kanizsa had fallen, was an aged but vigorous man, the son-in-law of the Sultan; and he followed up his victory by laying siege to a town which Smith calls Olumpaugh, investing it so closely that the garrison, commanded by Lord Ebersbaught, were cut off from all communication with the surrounding country.

It is easy to identify Olumpaugh with Ober-Limbach, which on maps of the period* is situated a few miles north of Kanizsa, on the bend of the river Raab, and south of the town of Kerment. To the relief of the besieged town Kisell was straightway despatched; probably he moved his forces forward so rapidly that what artillery he possessed was forced to follow; Smith at all events does not mention, as at subsequent sieges and battles, the presence of ordnance; and the relieving force amounted to only ten thousand men.

Taken altogether, the facts point to the beginning of the siege as having been so recent that Kisell had hoped to throw reinforcements into the town before the investment should be complete; the garrison was certainly a small one, and the first point was to establish some means of communication.

In this Smith was able to be of service. It was merely his duty to give Kisell knowledge of the fortunate mutual understanding between himself and

*See "Théâtre de l' Univers," par Abraham Ortelius, edition of 1574, printed at Paris. (Peabody Library, Baltimore.)

Lord Ebersbaught; and the General at once perceiving its practical value supplied the young adventurer with guides and torches. Arriving with these at a hill opposite the town, and about seven miles distant, Smith caused three torches to be displayed, equidistant from one another; then he awaited the reply of the garrison. An interval of suspense succeeded. Would the lights be noticed by the sentries? Would these bring them to the attention of the governor? Would Ebersbaught remember? As to the last, Smith was confident; the matter was one of too grave moment to be forgotten by a soldier, too simple to slip from the memory, even if the written key were lost. But if Ebersbaught should miss hearing of these strange lights, through the sentry's carelessness or stupidity; if he should be ill, or dead!

It was an anxious time, until three answering torches burned equidistant upon the wall of Ober-Limbach.

The manner of this signaling was as follows: The message was first, says Smith, "writ as brief, you see, as could be," and was as follows: "On Thursday, at night, I will charge on the east; at the alarum, sally you." For the communication, the alphabet was divided into two parts, from A to L, and from M to Z, inclusive. Any letter within the first part was indicated by showing and hiding a single torch, as many times as is required by that letter's place in the series; letters in the second part showed two lights in the same manner. The end of a word was denoted by showing three lights; then a long pause, the torches burning, while Lord Ebersbaught might "write

it in a paper, and answer by his signal, which is one light, it is done." It is evident that a common language would need to be agreed upon beforehand; but on the present occasion Smith no doubt used the tongue in which he had conversed with his friend upon the subject, which was probably German.

While the Englishman was busy with his telegraphy, the guides who had led him to this elevated spot were studying the camp of the enemy, and on their return reported to Kisell, who seems to have been rather a timid leader, that the Turks were divided by the river into two parts, one of which could not readily reinforce the other. Which comforting suggestion was backed by another device on the part of Smith; namely, the arranging of two or three thousand "pieces of match" which might simultaneously explode small quantities of powder, thus giving the appearance of so many musketeers stationed on that side of the town (the plain of Hysnaburg, probably Eisenburg), opposite to the point at which the attack was to be made. This device having been put in practise, the Turks rallied to that quarter to repel "some great army;" meanwhile Kisell with his ten thousand carried the camp by assault, the Turks running up and down as men amazed. Ebersbaught also did not fail in his portion of the programme; and Smith says succinctly that a third part of the Turks were slain, many of the rest drowned; all who could, fled. On the other side of the river the enemy were busy fighting the false fires; so that before morning Kisell succeeded in throwing a reinforcement, two

thousand strong, into Ober-Limbach, or Felso-Landre, as it is in the Hungarian; and a quantity of provisions having been found in the Turkish camp, the Turks raised the siege and retired to Kanizsa. Kisell was received at Kerment with much honor; which place must have been the headquarters of the division of the army to which he belonged; and our author, also, did not lack recognition, being promoted to a captaincy of two hundred and fifty cavalrymen, under the command of Henry Volda, Earl of Meldritch.

This episode in Smith's life has been related with greater fullness than its historical importance might seem to merit; it was, however, all important to him personally, as he now for the first time found himself in a position approximating to his desires. It was his nature to be the more faithful the more was entrusted to him; but doubtless the rumor of a general peace, which was now prevalent, was less pleasing to him than to "these tormented countries" of Hungary and Transylvania. But when it became evident that the Turks intended "no such matter," a new levy of soldiers was made throughout the empire, and the "Christian princes" lending a certain, or rather uncertain aid, a great army was raised, in three divisions: The first under the Archduke Matthias, and the Duc de Mercoeur, his second in command, to defend Lower Hungary; the second, under Ferdinand, Archduke of Styria, and the Duke of Mantua, to regain Kanizsa; and the third, under Gonzago, governor of Upper Hungary, to unite with one whom Smith calls Georgio Busca, to make an absolute conquest of Transylvania.

Nothing could be clearer, though our author's historical accuracy has been called in question at exactly this point. Georgio Busca, or Basti, or Basta—the name, like most names of the period, is diversely spelt—had for some time commanded the armies of the empire against Sigismund Balthori, in Transylvania.

Smith was attached to the first division of the Imperial army, and, under the command of the Duc de Mercoeur, "with an army of thirty thousand, whereof near ten thousand were French," besieged "Stowllewesenburg," or Stuhlweissenburg, otherwise called Alba Regalis, a place so strong by art and nature that it was thought impregnable. The events of this siege need scarce be chronicled in detail; that our young captain of two hundred and fifty sustained the reputation which he had made at Ober-Limbach is all that immediately concerns us. For certain Christians having managed to escape from the besieged town, gave information to the Earl of Meldritch in regard to the situation of the "places of greatest assemblage," no doubt the mosques; towards which, therefore, the young artilleryman (a branch of the service scarcely as yet differentiated) proceeded to direct his "fiery dragons," a species of primitive bombshell, the manufacture of which he may have learned, and the principle of which he almost certainly did learn, from William Bourne. Simultaneously with the "flight in the air" of these dragons, the suburb at the port, or gate, of Buda was fired in two or three places; and if the Christians had

been able to follow up the attack, the town could readily have been carried by assault. The fault was probably in the division of authority, and the defective organization common to all armies of the period; inseparable, indeed, from an army constituted as was this one.

The city was, however, doomed; for, the valiant Earl Rosworme crossing by a stratagem, a muddy lake which had been thought impassable, and surprising the town on one side while Mercoeur with his cannon battered it on the other, it was taken; the Bashaw drawing together a party of five hundred men in the city, before his own palace, where he intended to die; but after most of his men were slain, Earl Meldritch took him prisoner with his own hands and at the "hazard of his own life saved him from the fury of other troops, that did pull down his palace, and would have rent him in pieces, had he not been thus preserved."

The Duc de Mercoeur thought his victory much honored with such a prisoner, whose ransom, indeed, was worth consideration; he gave orders that he should be treated as was due to his rank, and likewise set himself to repair the damage to this ancient city, which had been in the possession of the Turks for nearly thirty years; and whose capture made up to the empire for the loss of Kanizsa.

Stuhlweissenburg had been taken just in time; for the Sultan had raised an army of sixty thousand, who were actually upon the march to relieve it under Assan Bashaw, his Grand Vizir, and the commander-

in-chief of his forces. Hearing it had fallen, Assan still hoped to regain it; but the duke, leaving a strong garrison there—the town being as yet in no condition to stand another siege—marched to meet the Turk upon the plains of Girke. By this Smith probably means the neighborhood of a town which he afterward calls Zigetun or, in Hungarian, Tzigetvar.

Mercoeur had made a first mistake in underrating his enemy, supposing that such raw levies could be easily handled; he seems to have followed up this error by failing to intrench himself, or even to offer his opponent formal battle, but "those two armies encountered as they marched, where began a hot and bloody skirmish between them, regiment against regiment, as they marched, till the night parted them." Earl Meldritch was surrounded, with his command, and his two friends Vahan and Culnits performed prodigies of bravery in extricating him; the Earl's valor shone brighter than his armor, which then seemed painted with Turkish blood.

Of Captain Smith, who would certainly have borne the chief part in saving his colonel, had he been the liar and braggart that he has been represented, we only hear that he had a horse killed under him and was himself sore wounded; "but he was not long unmounted, for there was choice enough of horses that wanted masters."

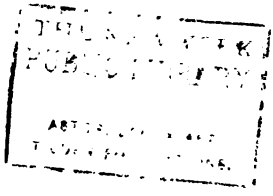
He does not fail, however, to remark upon the crescent-shaped formation of the Turkish regiments; and he tells us also that Earl Meldritch slew the brave Zanzack Bugola, and later speaks of several "zanzacks"

who were taken prisoners. To his use of this title we shall recur on another page, in connection with another term of the Ottoman feudal system; the due explanation of which aids in making clear and coherent a much disputed portion of his history.

Assan Bashaw was greatly elated with the result of the running fight we have indicated, and knowing the Duke's army to have been weakened by the siege, and by the strength of the garrison left in Alba Regalis, hoped to capture his force entire, with the city for a *bonne bouche*; that very night, therefore, he threw twenty thousand men between the Duke and the town, in which position they lay intrenched for two or three days; the Turks daily defying the Duke to a set-battle. At length Mercoeur drew out his whole army under the command of the Rhine-grave, Culnits and Meldritch. After a brisk fight, the Turks were driven back to their intrenchments, with the loss of five thousand men, including some important prisoners, the chief of whom was the Bashaw of Buda, Amurath, Sinan having died during these conflicts which he had inaugurated. Nine pieces of ordnance were taken, a most important capture in those days; and the whole army of Assan was saved from ruin only by the arrival of reinforcements, appearing "out of a valley, over a hill," as opportunely as Blücher at Waterloo. Here they lay nine or ten days longer, and the Turks being reinforced still further, a battle was expected daily; but the severity of the weather, owing to the approach of the rigorous Hungarian winter, so discouraged the troops, especially

the warmth-loving Turks, that the Bashaw was forced to retire upon Buda; and Amurath upon this broke up the siege and retreated to Tzigetvar.

Now, therefore, Mercoeur, who seems to have been less skilled in warfare than one would expect, considering that he had been trained under the League, against Henri Quatre, divided his army into three divisions; the first of which, under Earl Rosworme, he sent to assist in the siege of Kanizsa, the second, under Meldritch, to help Basta against the Transylvanians; the rest he himself divided between the garrisons of Strigonium (Gran) and Komora (Komorn). Having thus got rid of his command, he prepared to return to France, to raise new levies; but after a magnificent banquet at Nuremburg, given him by the two Archdukes Matthias and Maximilian, he died suddenly, not without suspicion of poison. The fact that his brother-in-law fell a victim to the same festivity did not lessen the suspicion; though at this distance of time and place a motive for the crime is far to seek. It may, however, have been that the archducal brothers disliked that the glory of the campaign should all fall to a foreigner; but, however that may be, the deaths took place, and all that returned into France of the two gallant soldiers and noblemen were their hearts, which with great sorrow were carried to their native country.



MAPPA
GENERALIS
TOTIUS IMPERII
RUSSICI

MAP FROM THE ATLAS RUSSICUS SHOWING DONSKAIA OR ECOPOLIS AND CORAGNAW OR CAREWKURGAN
(From the Peabody Library, Baltimore)

x Donskaia
† Carewkurgan

CHAPTER V.

How He Slew Three Turks at Regall.

The three divisions of the Duc de Mercoeur's army fared not much better than their leader during the winter. It would be very difficult, even for a skilled tactician, to decide what, in days of such different conditions, would have been the wisest course for a leader of men to pursue; it is probable that the Duke made the best disposition of his men that was possible under the circumstances. But the Earl of Rosworme, at the siege of Kanizsa, encountered a winter which seems to have been phenomenal even for those regions. Smith calls it "the extremity of an extraordinary continuing tempest of hail, wind, frost and snow, insomuch that the Christians were forced to leave their tents and artillery, and what they had; it being so cold that three or four hundred of them were frozen to death in a night, and two or three thousand lost in that miserable flight in the snowy tempest, though they did know no enemy at all to follow them."*

The Earl of Meldritch, meanwhile, journeyed to Transylvania, under circumstances well-nigh as severe;

*It may have been during this winter that Smith learned those stratagems against cold that he practised afterwards in Virginia. See page———.

and arriving there, found matters in a complication which Smith's account, it must be confessed, does not go far towards helping us to understand. We are, however, already aware that Prince Sigismund was now in arms against the Emperor, and in nominal alliance with the Turks, and a further complication had recently been introduced by the death of Michael, Vaivode of Wallachia, in whose place the Turks had appointed "one Jeremy." But, as was likely in an appointee of the corrupt Ottoman government, this man so distinguished himself by his exactions and oppressions that the people rose against him, and he was forced to take refuge with the Turks in Moldavia. Upon this, Basta or Busca, as Smith calls him, proclaimed, in the name of the Emperor, "the Lord Rodoll," as Vaivode in his stead.

Now, Earl Meldritch was a Transylvanian born, and such pronounced Imperialism was by no means to his taste; moreover, the House of Hapsburg was, or seemed to him, blackened by the death of his gallant and beloved general, the Duc de Mercoeur. Sigismund's cause, also, appeared at the moment, hopeful beyond all previous expectation; since he was actual master of more than half of Transylvania, and in full possession of the hearts of the whole people. Meldritch therefore decided, instead of reporting himself and his command to Basta, to offer his services to Sigismund, to which course the soldiers were the more easily persuaded, both as being worn out with long marches under such stress of weather, and also by the promise of free pillage among the unbelievers.

The hereditary possessions of Meldritch seem to have been situated upon the frontier between Hungary and Transylvania, in a territory which Smith calls "the Land of Zarkam." It was a mountain region, peculiarly wild and inaccessible, and was now held by a sort of refugee population—"some Turks, some Tartars, but most Banditti, Renegadoes, and such like." These were in possession of the fortresses, castles and other strong places, which they professed to hold, "some for the Emperor, some for the Prince and some for the Turk;" but they were, as a matter of fact, simply a number of disconnected bands of free-booters, and whoever should make a general clearance of the whole section of country would be doing good service both to God and man.

Meldritch, having his father's death to avenge, and his lands to regain, asked leave of Prince Sigismund to "try his fortunes, and to make use of that experience the time of twenty years had taught him in the Emperor's service; promising to spend the rest of his days in his country's defence, in his Excellency's service."

It was natural that Sigismund, who probably understood his own situation better than any one else, should accept with gladness "so brave a commander and so many expert and ancient soldiers." He made Meldritch campmaster of his army, gave him "relief for his troops, and what freedom they desired to plunder the Turks."

Accordingly, while the winter lasted, Meldritch prepared for the coming campaign by making thorough

reconnoissances into the "Land of Zarkam," a term whose inherent improbability has been considered so great as to justify some historians in repudiating the whole of the story connected with it. But when we remember the character of the inhabitants, as described by Smith, and connect with it the Hungarian term "Zsàkmany" plunder or booty, this improbability vanishes; and it becomes as likely to have been a local name for that vicinity as any corresponding title known to our own frontier.

Certainly it is not found on any maps of the period; but in an ancient map made by N. de Fer, from notes left by da Vignola, printed in the year 1691, we find in the Comté d'Albe Jule, a narrow valley called "Les Quarres Villes de Montagnes," the Four Cities of the Hill Country, which locality strikingly fulfils all the conditions of Smith's narrative. The entrance to the valley is between two mountains; each of the four cities is situated, at least on the map, on top of a hill; and since the banditti of the whole valley had concentrated their chief strength for the defence of Regall, the fortress nearest to the Maikra Mountains, we can easily understand that when this had fallen, it was a trifle to make a clean sweep of the other three, issuing from the eastern terminus of the valley quite near to Weissenburg, or Alba Julia, the hereditary castle of the Bathori. And to force a passage for artillery through the pass at the western entrance of the valley one can readily understand took fully six days.

But the pass itself was commanded by a strong

fortress, which, standing on a promontory overlooking the valley in both directions, was evidently the strategic point of the situation. Accordingly, Colonel Veltus with his regiment was posted in ambuscade upon the surrounding hills, while a small disguised party, having helped themselves to all the cattle they could find, proceeded to drive these through the defile, as though they had been a party of honest drovers conveying their herds to market. The freebooting garrison fell at once into the trap; and sallying forth to capture these tempting provisions, were themselves immediately bagged by Veltus, who captured and destroyed the fortifications. But, despite this happy opening to the campaign, it was six days, as we have seen, before, even with the aid of six thousand pioneers, Meldritch was able to make a road by which to transport his ordnance.

His meeting with the Prince seems to have been upon the Hungarian side of the boundary, whither Basta may have retreated, followed by Sigismund, upon the approach of winter; this was, therefore, Meldritch's triumphal return to his native land. But for some time he seemed unlikely to follow up his first success at all conclusively; for, his passage of the mountains being thus delayed, the desperadoes of the Land of Zarkam had time to intrench themselves strongly with an ample supply of provisions in the town of Regall, probably, as we have seen, the first of the Quatre Villes de Montagnes.

But the Earl had brought with him only eight thousand men; a force which, to the Turks, fortified and

provisioned, was simply a matter of scorn. Nevertheless Meldritch boldly laid siege to the town, but before he had time to pitch his tents, he was interrupted by a sortie in force, which he repulsed after a fierce skirmish, lasting about an hour, and costing about fifteen hundred men on both sides; the attacking party were pursued by the besiegers until they came under the very guns of the fortress.

The next day arrived a famous Transylvanian general of Prince Sigismund's army, with nine thousand horse and foot, and twenty-six pieces of ordnance. This was Zachel Moyses, as he is called by contemporaneous historians; or Moses Tzekely, as moderns term him. But the city was strong, both by art and nature, and neither of these commanders wished to expend his men in ineffectual assaults; they, therefore, spent nearly a month in intrenching themselves against further sorties, and in raising mounds, on which to plant their batteries, so as to bring these to bear against the fortress.

We remember that the mountains resembled David's Cave of Adullum in respect of those who resorted thither; and there seem to have been, within the walls of Regall, some to whom the usages of chivalrous warfare were still familiar, though to the rest of the world they had grown somewhat obsolete. For, scorning these slow proceedings of the Christians, and frequently deriding them with pretending to believe that their ordnance was in pawn, and must be redeemed before it could be used; and also professing to fear that since the besiegers postponed their attack

so long, they would get discouraged and leave before they had given the besieged the pleasure of fighting them, they finally sent a general challenge to any officer among the Christian forces:

"That, to delight the ladies, who did long to see any courtlike pastime, the Lord Turbashaw did defy any captain that had the command of a company, who durst combat with him for his head."

The mention of ladies, as concerned in this wager, is eminently un-Mahometan, but quite characteristic of "banditti and renegadoes and such-like;" the Lord Turbashaw, or Turkish Bashaw, was certainly not the commander of the garrison; but probably some leader of freebooters, who may or may not have been born to the faith of Islam, which he now professed. In the camp of the Christians the challenge, after discussion, was accepted; but so many captains volunteered for the championship that they were forced to decide the matter by lot; and the lot fell upon Captain Smith.

The result of the combat could have little bearing upon the actual strength of either garrison or besiegers; but its moral effect was likely to be considerable; and therefore every effort was made on each side to give it as dramatic a setting as could be managed. The ladies of the garrison gathered upon the ramparts, the Christian forces were drawn up in battalions; and with a sound of hautbois, the challenger entered the lists, well mounted and armed. "On his shoulders were fixed a pair of great wings, compacted of eagles' feathers, within a ridge of silver, richly garnished with

gold and precious stones; a janissary before him, bearing his lance; on each side another, leading his horse."

To this splendid creature entered Smith, with only a page bearing his lance; and, passing him with a courteous salute, "took his ground with such good success that at the sound of the charge he passed the Turk through the sight of his beaver, face, head and all that he fell dead to the ground; where, alighting and unbracing his helmet, he cut off his head, and the Turks took his body; and so returned without any hurt at all."

After this feat of arms, which may have caused him to remember gratefully the woodish solitude of Willoughby, where he once practised with a horse, a lance and a ring, Smith presented the head to the General, Moses Tzekely, and probably considered it a finished affair, except for the *kudos* which it brought him from all the army of the Christians. There remained, however, in the garrison, an intimate friend of the defeated Turbashaw, one Grualgo, who was most likely a Spanish renegade, and who, "rather enraged with madness than choler, directed a peculiar challenge to the conqueror, to regain his friend's head, or lose his own, with his horse and armor for advantage."

Smith accepting the challenge, the combat took place upon the next day, and upon the first onset the lance of each was shivered fairly against the shield of the other, though the Turk nearly lost his seat. They then had recourse to their pistols, when Smith's shield*

*Or possibly he means by his "placard" the tabard which he may have worn over his arms.

was marked by a bullet which did no further harm; but at the second shot—their pistols being the earliest, double-barreled form, huge and cumbrous—the Turk was so wounded in the left arm that, unable to control or guide his horse, and also to defend himself, he was thrown to the ground; where, bruised with the fall, he lost his head. The conqueror retained his armor, according to the terms of the combat; but his body and rich apparel were sent back to his friends.

Meanwhile, the works of the besiegers were not yet completed, and their army being every day harassed by sorties of the garrison who would sally forth, to do what harm they could to the works, and retire before they could be punished fitly, Smith devised another single combat, in order to keep them occupied and out of mischief. He, therefore, sent a challenge in his turn to the effect—as the first combat had been for the amusement of the ladies—that finding himself possessed of certain heads belonging to servants of these ladies, he was not so much enamored of them, but what, if any Turk of their rank should come to the place of combat to redeem them, he should have the challenger's also upon the like conditions, if he could win it.

This defiance was accepted by a champion whose name, assuredly most unmusical, has given great offence to certain detractors of our author. As Smith heard and recorded it, the name was Bonny Mulgro, to which no Turkish or Arabian name or title can be easily made to correspond. But a very likely name for a renegade Spaniard would be Alma-

gro; and there is no antecedent improbability in the champion's having been familiarly termed Buen Almagro.

The weapons of the combat had been appointed as pistols and battle-axes; and, coming next day to the lists, it was not long before our hero discovered that he had to do with a stouter opponent than he had yet encountered. For, having discharged their pistols without harm to either party, they betook themselves to their battle-axes, "whose piercing bills made sometime the one, sometime the other, to have scarce sense to keep their saddles; specially the Christian received such a blow that he lost his battle-axe, and failed not much to have fallen after it; whereat the supposed conquering Turk had a great shout from the rampiers." The Turk prosecuted his advantage to the uttermost of his powers; yet the other, "what by the readiness of his horse, and his judgment and dexterity in such a business, beyond all men's expectations, by God's assistance, not only avoided the Turk's violence, but, having drawn his falchion, pierced the Turk so under the culets (cuirass ?) through back and body that, although he alighted from his horse, he stood not long ere he lost his head as the rest had done."

This good success, says Smith, gave great encouragement to the whole army; and the next day the victor was escorted to the tent of General Moses with a guard of six thousand, and three spare horses; before each a Turk's head upon a lance. Presenting these to the General, he was graciously received, Moses embracing him, and presenting him with a

horse, richly caparisoned, and a scymetar and belt worth three hundred ducats; and Meldritch made him major of his regiment.

The works raised against the town had meanwhile reached completion; and the cannon, once brought to bear upon the fortifications, were so valiantly employed that within fifteen days two breaches were made which the Turks defended with desperate valor. But Moses commanding a general assault up the sloping front of the promontory, the Turks, after a struggle, desperate on both sides, retreated to the citadel, where they displayed a flag of truce and asked for terms of surrender. These were refused by Meldritch, who desired revenge for his father's death; the next day he turned upon the citadel the guns of the town; and taking it, put to the sword all that could bear arms, and set their heads upon stakes, all around the town, as retaliation for their similar treatment of its Christian defenders, when it fell into their hands.

The plunder of the town, which had for so long been a den of thieves, was naturally considerable; but when Moses had repaired the fortifications, and placed a strong garrison within it, he found his forces so depleted that he was at a loss to determine whether he had gained or lost by the enterprise. To recoup himself, as well as to finish the task he had undertaken, he took and sacked "Veratio, Solmos and Kupronka," which as we have seen were probably the remaining three cities of the mountains, with a population of the same general character as that of Regall. With two thousand prisoners — mostly

women and children; one fancies the probable fate of the male prisoners—he came to Eisenburg, in Hungarian Vasvar, near to the Prince's palace of Weissenburg, where Sigismund then was.

A grand review was held forthwith under the eye of this sovereign, to whom Captain Smith was presented, with a full account of his services rendered at Ober-Limbach, Stuhl-Weissenburg and Regall; in recognition of these Sigismund, by letters-patent, granted him a coat-of-arms, Smith making oath to bear it always; he received also Sigismund's portrait set in gold, and was promised a pension of three hundred ducats yearly.

The present is therefore a convenient place for investigating Smith's claim to gentility; a claim upon which he laid so great a stress as seems almost out of keeping with his straightforward independence of character. He was, however, entitled, both on the paternal and maternal side, to write himself *armiger*, or gentleman. On his father's side, his bearings, as shown in the upper sinister cantle of his shield, were three fleurs de lis, the colors uncertain, but either *or* or *argent*, upon a field azure. Of this royal flower, Guillim says mournfully that it had once been among the very noblest bearings, but afterwards grew more common. It was a favorite device among those who had served in the wars in France, and by a special decree those who fought at Agincourt were privileged to assume any device they pleased without need to ask permission from the Earl Marshal. The device of the Smiths of Curdley was, however, "*Argent*,

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH'S COAT-OF-ARMS

a chevron *sable*, between three roses *gules*, seeded *or* barbed *vert*;" our hero's three lilies were, however, certainly born with the knowledge and consent of Sir William Segar, of whom we shall speak more particularly a little further on. It is possible that they referred to his father's military service under Lord Willoughby in France, whether or no they were granted at that time.

The coat granted to Samuel Rickards of Westminster is thus described in Burke's Encyclopædia of Heraldry: "*Gules*, three garbs (wheat-sheaves) in bend *or*," etc. Here also the colors differ; those of Smith's maternal cantle being apparently a bend, color not indicated, but probably *azure*, upon a field possibly argent.

The arms granted by Sigismund, and which we find quartered with the two just described, are as follows: "*Vert*, a chevron *gules*, between three Turks' heads, couped, proper: turbaned *or*.

"Crest, an ostrich, *or*; holding in its mouth a horseshoe, *or*."

The crest of Smith of Hough, in Cheshire, which was confirmed in July, 1579, is "An ostrich *argent*, holding in its beak a horseshoe, *or*." This crest was probably the foundation of our hero's; the significance of the ostrich (Oestrich or Austria) and of the lucky horseshoe, was likely to suggest itself to a herald of the times. The shield granted by Sigismund needs but little explanation; the green field, the chevron, marking a deed of arms, the black, gold-turbaned, severed Turks' heads, explain themselves.

This coat-of-arms was not entered at the Heralds' College until after the publication in 1625 of Purchas's "Pilgrims," in vol. ii, of which may be found a full account of Smith's doings in Transylvania, taken from "A Booke intituled, The Warres of Transylvania, Wallachia and Moldavia, written by Francisco Farnese, a learned Italian, Secretarie to Sigismundus Bathor, the Prince."

The manuscript of this important work has apparently perished; though there existed also a Spanish translation of it, which had been seen by Don Pascual de Gayangos, rendered from the original by an Italian, Montalvo. It is probable that upon the appearance of Purchas's history, Smith's attention was called to the necessity of having his coat-of-arms confirmed by the Heralds' College; he made application accordingly and we find his shield confirmed, on August 19th, 1625, by a grant of Sir William Segar, then Garter King-at-Arms. It is probable that at this time his right to the bearings above described, as those of his paternal and maternal ancestors, would have been seriously questioned, had he assumed them without warrant. Of the two Latin mottoes, "*Vincere est Vivere,*" was assumed as his personal watch-word or war cry; and assuredly was eminently characteristic; "Accordamus" was borne as the motto of his father's house, but I have not been able to find a record of it. The fleur de lis forms both crest and device of many shields belonging to the name of Smith; but the dog's head I have not been able to identify.

It must be remembered, however, that we do not

claim for any portion of our hero's family a higher rank than that of esquire; also that it seems to have ended in himself, as there is no mention in his will of nephews or nieces, and he left his coat-of-arms (probably an elaborate blazon of it) to his executor, Thomas Packer; so that it is remarkable that we are able at this late date to find as much as has been found upon the subject. Its ultimate value is simply to show that he had a right to the title to which he was fond of asserting his claim; a title which some in our own day consider a not unworthy one; he was of right "John Smith, this English Gentleman."

CHAPTER VI.

Of the Battle of Rothenthurm, and How Captain Smith Traveled in Tartaria.

"Busca having all this time been raising new forces, was commanded by the Emperor again to invade Transylvania, which, being one of the fruitfulest and strongest countries in those parts, was now rather a desert, or the very spectacle of desolation; their fruits and fields overgrown with weeds, their churches and battered palaces and best buildings hid with moss and ivy; being the very bulwark and rampier of a great part of Europe, most fit by all Christians to have been supplied and maintained, was thus brought to ruin by them it most concerned to maintain it."

So writes Smith, at the beginning of a passage upon the horrors of war, not without eloquence, and certainly eloquent of sincerity; for it will appear, as we continue the record of his career, that the ensuing campaign gave him his bellyful of fighting for fighting's sake; and that, when free of his present engagement, he chose a more useful occupation, and waged war only upon necessity.

Sigismund had, as we know, gained some advantage against Basta during the preceding year, but the force which that general now brought into the field

was an overwhelming one, when the Prince's resources and those of his wasted and desolated country were considered; morever, the Poles had failed in their promise of men and supplies; so, unable to sustain himself any longer, he was forced to send ambassadors to the Imperial general to sue for peace. To which Basta readily agreeing, the terms of the former treaty were agreed upon, by which Transylvania was surrendered to the Emperor, Sigismund receiving ample lands in Silesia, with sixty thousand ducats down, and the promise of a pension of fifty thousand.

Moses Tzekely, Zachel Moyses, or Prince Moses,* as we may choose to term him, was willing, says Smith, "to do anything rather than come in subjection to the Germans; he encouraged his soldiers, and without more ado marched to encounter Basta," but was completely overthrown, and forced to take refuge with the Turks at Temesvar. Meanwhile, another refugee from the Imperal power, namely, Jeremy, the tyrannical nominee of the Moslem for the Vaivodeship of Wallachia, had invaded that country with a force of forty thousand Turks, Tartars and Moldavians; against which Rodoll was not able to stand, but fled into Transylvania, to "Busca, his ancient friend." But the Imperial policy demanding the annexation of the small principalities, as rapidly as possible, Basta resolved to send a force against Jeremy at once; and the rather, as he should thus find honorable employment, and perhaps a convenient death,

*Sacy in his "Historie d'Hongrie," 1780, calls him Zachal Moïse.

for the discontented and half mutinous soldiers of Sigismund.

He therefore placed under Rodoll's orders the contingents commanded by Meldritch, Veltus, and other officers of the Prince, and despatched them to Wallachia. These, to the number of thirty thousand, marched along the river Aluta, to the pass of Rimnik, encamping at Reitch. Here Jeremy, who meanwhile amused himself with such pleasant pastimes as decapitating his prisoners, and throwing their heads into the camp of their friends, was drawn by a stratagem into a pitched battle; in which the brave Transylvanian leaders performed prodigies of valor; and victory having declared for Rodoll, he was "seated again in his sovereignty," while Jeremy, for awhile reported slain, had in fact fled with the remainder of his army, again into Moldavia, and was quite alive enough for further mischief. For there soon came news that straggling parties of Tartars were foraging the borders of Moldavia; against whom Meldritch was despatched, with only thirteen thousand men. But when they had gone some distance, more certain tidings came that the enemy was "the Crym-Tartar," with his two sons, and an army of thirty thousand; while Jeremy, with some fifteen thousand men, lay in ambush for them near Longenau. Meldritch, therefore, endeavored to retire upon Rothenthurm, a strongly garrisoned town, holding under Rodoll; but was so completely hemmed in by the enemy that he could make no great haste. Discovering, through some prisoners thrown into their hands by a success-

ful skirmish, the exact whereabouts of Jeremy and of the Crym-Tartar, Meldritch forced his way through the ambush, by means of a stratagem suggested by Smith; namely, to paint short pieces of wood with phosphorus, or "wildfire," as he calls it; and, charging the enemy with these, borne on the heads of two or three hundred lances, in the middle of the night, "it blazed forth such flames and sparkles that it amazed not only their horse, but their foot also; that by means of this flaming encounter, their own horses turned tails with such fury as overthrew Jeremy and his army; without any loss at all, to speak of, to Meldritch.

But they were not long to enjoy their triumph; for within three leagues of Rothenthurm, they were attacked by the Tartars, with nearly forty thousand men, and in a fierce battle, lasting from sunrise until nightfall, the Christian forces were well-nigh exterminated; Meldritch, with a few hundred horsemen, swam the river and escaped; but most of the officers were slain, and many brave Englishmen, whose names Smith lovingly chronicles; but two he mentions who escaped, men whose names we shall meet with in the story of the founding of Virginia, and who at this time were probably members of his troop of horse; Ensign Carlton and Sergeant Robinson.

John Smith, himself, was left for dead upon the field; but the camp-followers, searching for booty, found him still breathing, and judging him from the richness of his dress and armor to be a prisoner of im-

portance,* gave him careful tendance until his wounds were healed, and then sold him as a slave in the market-place of "Axopolis," a place which Arber supposes to be either Tchernavda, or Rassowa, on the Danube. Here he was bought by a Turkish officer, the Bashaw Bogall; who, desiring to exalt himself in the eyes of a fair lady at Constantinople, presented to her the English captive, as a famous Bohemian nobleman, taken prisoner by the hand of Bogall himself.

It is quite possible that our hero misunderstood to a certain extent the social relations among which he now found himself; we may, however, remember that the Greek population of Constantinople, though nominally Mohammedan in religion, always retained a larger share of freedom for their women than the true Turks would permit. And the name Charatza Tragabigzanda sounds very like corrupt, or misspelled Greek; in fact, the first name may very possibly have been even Chryseis.

But however that may have been, Smith made his way to her presence in no very dignified, or even comfortable fashion; "by twenty and twenty chained by the neck, they marched in file to this great city; where they were delivered to their several masters, and he to the young Charatza Tragabigzanda."

Smith's portrait, painted at the age of thirty-seven, shows him as a man of attractive and martial pres-

*Uniforms had only begun to be employed in France under Henri IV.; their use was by no means general. Smith must have worn a Hungarian or Transylvanian habit, with breast and back armor and helmet.

ence; and the rumor of his military fame, which the rather obtuse Bogall had supposed would tend to the greater glory of his captor, did not make the captive less interesting to the beautiful young Greek. Educated above the custom or even the capacity of the obese Turkish beauties, her active and inquiring intelligence perceived at once that the new slave could give her information of the affairs of the world outside her own life, which, as that of a Mohammedan, must have been hedged in to an extent much greater than the lives of her Christian sisters of those times. If from the first her interest in the prisoner were of another character, we may suppose that she hesitated to admit this, even to her own heart, to which the desire to hear of Bogall's exploits would have been an excuse, amply sufficient, especially as it was not exactly correct. But a pretext very much stronger would have been needed to justify, to her mother, such intercourse with a captive Giaour; it was simpler to resort to stratagem. Doubtless, also, she did not lack for a confidential female slave, or a tongueless eunuch, to bring the man to her presence when opportunity offered; and to feign sickness, as we are told she did, to procure the opportunity, when other women of the household went to the baths, or, weekly, to weep over the graves of their friends departed,* could not have been difficult to any daughter of Eve. She found her prisoner able to converse with her in Italian; and he did not fail to give her a truer notion of his

*It is a Mohammedan superstition that the tears of the survivors cool the graves of the dead.

nationality and consequence. For indeed, it was not his interest to deceive her; the Turks made a systematic trade of their slaves taken in war, and a valuable prisoner was likely to fare much worse than one of less importance. For the latter was worth to them simply the personal service he was able to render, which was naturally increased by keeping him in good bodily condition and in mental content; while the captive of rank was worth whatever his friends would pay for his ransom; and this amount could be raised to its highest terms by inflicting on the person to be ransomed all that he was able to live through. On this account, it was the wont of prisoners to minimize their own importance; and of this Charatza seems to have been aware; since she took care to check Smith's account of himself by inquiries among other slaves and captives. Finding alike from them and him, that he was no captive of Bogall's, but had come into his possession by purchase, and that, so far from being a wealthy Bohemian noble, he was merely a poor English adventurer, with his sword for his fortune, she began to consider what fate was most likely to befall him, in the hands which had now the disposal of his fortune and person.

Had those hands been her own, there would have been, she believed, small difficulty in the matter; for even had there not by this time come to pass, as seems probable, confession of mutual love between them, at least the fair Greek had attained to the knowledge of her own heart. But though freer than most Turkish women, she was under the strict rule of

her mother, who had very likely promised her hand to Bogall, upon his return; meanwhile, any moment might discover the secret of the intercourse which she was not able to deny herself, while Smith remained so nearly within reach; or, his alleged rank, and the consequent expectation of large ransom, might tempt her mother to sell him in Constantinople for a high price; while if the elder lady were convinced of the young adventurer's worthlessness, in this regard, she would certainly get rid of him immediately, at whatever he could be made to fetch.

Now, in this complication, it probably seemed to Charatza the simplest solution for Smith to turn Turk and enter the army of the Sultan. Many Christians had done so before him; and in fact the tribute of Christian children, by which the force of the janissaries was constantly recruited, had not yet entirely ceased. But the readiest opening to her desire which offered itself to the lady was to send her lover to the care of her brother, who held a military fief under the Ottoman Empire, in a country which Smith calls Cambia, beyond the sea of Azov.

These military fiefs, into which the whole of Turkish dominions were divided and subdivided, are well described by Finlay, in his "History of the Ottoman Empire." The largest and most important class was that of the Sandjakbegs (Smith, we remember, calls them zanzacks), who were bound by oath to bring into the field twenty armed followers. Next came the Ziams, with from four to nineteen mounted followers; and finally were the Timariots, whose fief

was called a Timar, and who, when the Sultan took the field, followed him, alone, or with three armed horsemen, according to the value of the fief. The brother of Charatza is called by Smith "the Tymar Bashaw of Nalbrits," which is perfectly comprehensible; but the biographers of our hero have confused the title with the proper name Timor or Timour, to their and our great, though happily not endless, confusion.

Woe unto a woman when she takes a pen in her hand! says the wise man; for skilled in dissimulation as she may be, orally and face to face, all the secrets of her inmost heart will yet infallibly escape through the goose-quill upon the paper, and so become known to the world. Charatza told her Timariot brother, in a letter, all the story of this young captive of hers; how he had been sent to her as one whose ransom were worth the having, but it had proved that Bogall had lied and there was no such matter; how she was sure he would be willing to turn Turk for her sake, and to serve the Sultan under her dear brother, if the dear brother would kindly give him the opportunity; meanwhile, she would find means to put off or evade her other suitor, and "when time should make her master of herself," meaning, perhaps, at her mother's death, she would reclaim her captive, who by that time would doubtless have risen to high honor under the banner of Islam and in the defence of the faith of Allah and his prophet.

The contents of this Bellerophontic epistle could scarcely have been known to Smith, who would

probably have had worldly wisdom enough to advocate in it certain modifications; but he was doubtless well aware that he was expected to turn Turk, and not impossibly gave the matter a certain amount of consideration. For after all he may have seemed to perceive but little difference so far as a due regard for the lives of one's fellows was concerned; and with, on the one hand, only a lifelong, hopeless, degrading slavery, while on the other side were love, fame and freedom, all to be won by mumbling that there is no God but God, and Mohammed is the prophet of God—why, one must confess that the temptation was of a nature to make its way with the strongest.

Or so, at least, it appeared; we shall see as we progress in our story that, like the lions in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, its power was more restricted than at first was evident.

The set of experiences upon which the young adventurer now enters form the most disputed portion of his career. It has been said that he borrowed his account of the Tartars from the writings of others, that he was either never a slave at all, or at least did not give a correct account of his servitude; and his geography of the region has been laughed at with many flings and jeers not worth recording. As a matter of fact the whole narrative bears, as we shall see, the hall-mark of personal experience, and rings with the personal note; and, though many of the localities named are now not to be recognized, the main points of his wanderings are indicated in a man-

ner which is in itself almost proof of his veracity. For the whole Southern part of Russia was at that time but little known, being inhabited by wandering tribes or hordes of Tartars, with only, here and there, a Muscovite garrison strongly fortified, and by courtesy called a town. Some of these have endured to the present time; others were destroyed or abandoned through fortune of war, or the differing needs of peace; even those that still remain we may readily fail to identify unless the location is very clearly indicated; since Russian names, even when unchanged, are variously spelt by authorities of equal weight, and the names that came to Smith's ear were in some cases not Russian at all but Tartar; on which account certainly he failed to recognize a river which he and all the world knew perfectly well.

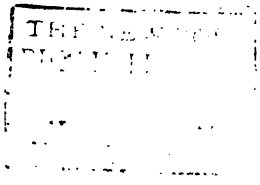
This was the river Bruapo, which has always been a puzzle to historians.

His journey, he tells us, was by land as far as Varna, on the Black Sea; there he took ship and so reached the strait of Kertch, and passed through the Sea of Azov, to the mouth of the river Bruapo, "which springeth from many places of the mountains Innagachi that join themselves together in the pool Kerkas." This pool, he says, the people of that country account for the head of the river; we shall see presently how he came by his better information. The river empties in the "Sea Dissabacca, called by some the Lake Meotis, which receiveth also the river Tanais," or Don.

Now, there is no single river in those parts that

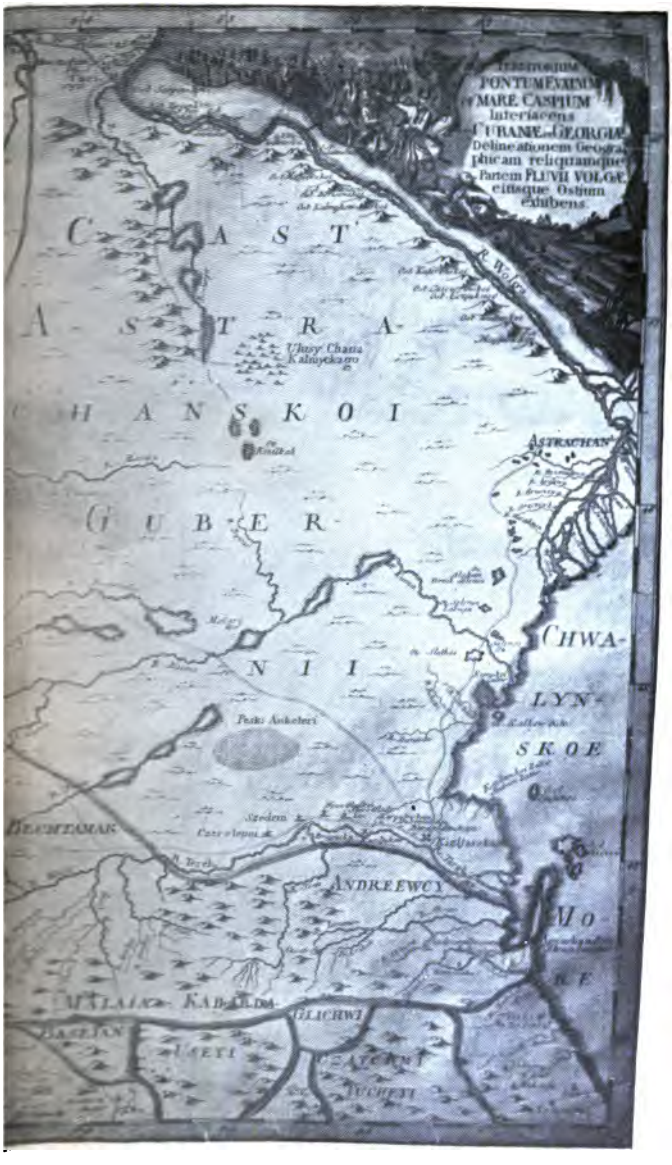
answers absolutely to this description; and Smith having with him no chart of the country—as indeed such scarcely existed—was unable to ascertain his exact locality. But there is very little doubt that as a matter of fact he entered one of the mouths of the Don, probably the most southerly, and that after a short sail up that river he turned aside into the Manitsch or Manytch. This, river which empties into the Don from the east, widens at one point into the Lake Manitschkoie, which may readily have been the pool Kerkas, as it is situated in the country of the "Circassi;" it is not, however, the head of the river, which is formed by various tributaries having their sources in or near the Caucasus range; there are in particular three streams, each called the Gegerlik, which unite with the Manitsch, just above the pools. And even such an acute topographer as Smith may be excused for failing to perceive the transition from river to river, since the junction is masked by one of the innumerable islets formed by the Don and its confluent streams, which bring down from the inland by the violence of their inundations great quantities of soil, as Captain Smith is careful to explain.

Cambia, which was six or seven days' sail up the Bruapo or Manitsch, was at a point where the river was more than half a mile wide; the castle of that name was of large circumference with walls fourteen or fifteen feet thick; "in the foundation, some six feet from the wall, is a palizado, and then a ditch of about forty feet wide full of water. On the west is a town, all of low, flat houses; which as he conceives could be



MAP FROM THE ATLAS RUSSICUS SHOWING SMIT
MANYTCH AND THE
(From the Peabod

x Gegerlik River, 1, 2 and 3



IVER BRUAPO, COMPOSED OF THE RIVERS DON,
REE GEGERLIKS
rary, Baltimore)

of no great strength, yet it keeps all them barbarous countries about it in admiration and subjection."

A further journey of two days in comfort and honor, at the expense of his mistress, brought him to Nalbrits, which is two days' journey from the pool Kerkas and probably north of it or a little west of north.

Here he was received by the Timariot, with less esteem than he had had reason to expect. Probably this nobleman considered that his sister had been grossly imposed upon by a fellow who was trying to evade his ransom; and he may further have reflected that he himself had more use for Christian gold than for a warlike brother-in-law; especially as the match with Bogall may most likely have appeared to him infinitely more desirable. At all events he gave an order in Turkish to the "drubman," as Smith suggestively terms him, who in all likelihood was his dragoman or interpreter; and the newly arrived, to his amazement and indignation, was seized, stripped and shaved, "his head and beard so bare as his hand; a great ring of iron with a long stalk bowed like a sickle" (this was for convenience of coupling two and two together, or else to act as a drag to prevent any effort to escape) "was riveted about his neck, and a coat put on him made of Ulgries' hair" (probably goats hair) "guarded about with a piece of undressed skin."

His trials among the slaves of the Timariot, among whom there were many more Christians, and near a hundred forçados or convicts of Turks and Moors, and "he, Smith, being last was slave of slaves to them all"—are told with clearness and force, and with

a note as has been said, of remembered injury, unquestionably personal. At last his trials grew beyond bearing; and one morning when he was engaged in threshing corn at a grange in a great field about a league from Nalbrits, his master added much more than a straw, and broke the back of this not overpatient camel. He had been a slave long enough to despair of Charatza's power to aid him, and to discuss and abandon several plans of escape with his fellow-Christians among the slaves; also, perhaps, long enough to make his master more impatiently anxious than ever to obtain the ransom of this obstinate unbeliever. For whenever the Timariot visited his granges, he took occasion so to beat, spurn and revile him that on the occasion in question the slave, who was necessarily, for the purpose of his labor, free from all fetters except his collar, "forgot all reason," and "beat out the Tymar's brains with his threshing bat, for they have no flails."

Then, "seeing that his estate could not be worse than it was," he dressed himself in his master's clothes, hid the body under the straw, filled his knapsack with corn, "shut the doors, mounted his horse, and ran into the desert at all adventure."

Adventure, indeed, for him who had so desired it! His first impulse would have been to take the opposite direction from that which led towards Nalbrits; and he probably at this time made his way towards the mountains, and discovered his first river, the headwaters of the Bruapo, as to which he was afterwards able to set right the people of the country.

After two or three days of aimless wandering, and as he despaired of any fortunate outcome of this adventure, "God did direct him to the great way or Castragan," possibly an ancient Roman road, which at every crossroad bore guide posts, with signs intelligible to men of any language. For each post had in it "so many bobs as there be ways, and every bob the figure painted on it that demonstrateth to what part that way leadeth; as that which pointeth towards the Crym's country is marked with a half moon; if towards the Georgians and Persia, a black man, full of spots; if towards China, the picture of the sun; if towards Muscovia, the sign of a cross; if towards the habitation of any other Prince, the figure whereby his standard is known.

"To his dying spirits thus God added some comfort in his melancholy journey; wherein, if he had met any of that vilde generation, they had made him their slave; or else, knowing the figure engraven in the iron about his neck, as all slaves have, he had been sent back again to his master. Sixteen days he traveled in this fear and torment after the cross, until he arrived at Ecopolis, a garrison of the Muscovites, upon the river Don."

Mercator, the greatest geographer of that day, gives us a map of these parts which shows a town on the Don called Exapolis; but it is much too near the mouth of the river to satisfy the conditions of Smith's sixteen days' journey. But an error of several hundred miles was a small matter at the time, especially in a region almost unknown; we may be grateful

to know that a town or fortress of that name did stand on that river, as our hero relates. Its situation probably corresponded pretty nearly to that of the more modern Donskaia; but wherever it stood, Smith was hospitably and kindly received by the Governor; and the Lady Callamata, who was probably the Governor's wife, liberally supplied all his wants.

In his description of the dominion of the Muscovites, a few pages later, he tells us that there was no possibility of traveling through it but under convoy of the caravans; and we shall therefore not be surprised to find that when he was fully recovered from his fatigue and privation, and the scars of his iron collar had ceased to smart, he set forth with the first convoy that left the fortress, though it was bound in an opposite direction from that where his hopes were fixed. For Caragnaw, if it be the Carewkurgan which we find on a map of the "Atlas Russicus," printed more than a century after Smith visited Russia, is on the Volga, but at no great distance from Donskaia; from thence it may be he departed with another caravan, and so went from point to point, keeping always in mind his return to the standard under which he had taken service, yet probably by no means averse to seeing as much as possible of this strange foreign land.

So he came at last to "Newgrod in Siberia, by Rezechica, upon the river Niper, in the confines of Littuania." This is evidently Novgorod-Sieverskoi on the Dneiper; Rezechica is Retchitsa. Thence he passed through the provinces of Volhynia and Podolia,

traversed the Kingdom of Poland, and so with a big jump, to Hermanstadt in Transylvania, where he found many of his friends. But the mirror of virtue, Prince Sigismund, was absent; in search of whom he journeyed on yet further and found him at last, with the faithful Meldritch, at Leipsic. Greatly astonished that Smith was yet alive, these nobles received the adventurer with joy; and as the original letters patent of the Prince had most likely been lost at the battle of Rothenthurm, Sigismund gave him an attestation of the former grant of arms, containing also a passport commending him to "all our loving and kind kinsmen, dukes, princes, earls, barons, governors of towns, cities or ships, in this kingdom or any other provinces he shall come in, that you freely let pass this the aforesaid captain, without any hindrance or molestation; and this doing, with all kindness, we are always ready to do the same thing for you."*

Sigismund also gave him fifteen hundred ducats of gold to repay his losses; which was the only consideration he ever received for the promised yearly pension; and thus well provided, he went on upon his journey once more free from the service of any man, even a prince; and again "John Smith, this English gentleman."

*See Appendix.

PART II.

His Work as Colonist and Governor.

CHAPTER VII.

How He Traveled in Barbary and Came Again to England; and of the Men of Note Whom He Found There.

If Charatza Tragabigzanda had been of the mental and moral calibre of that Turkish maid who followed Gilbert à Becket across seas with only the two words "Gilbert" and "London" to defray all expenses, she would not have found her task quite as easy nor would her lover have been on hand to reward her constancy. One is, indeed, impelled to wonder what became of Charatza. Did she become the bride of the too plausible Bogall? and if so, did she ever remind him of his Falstaffian prowess in capturing the alleged Bohemian nobleman?

At any rate she seems to have passed completely out of Smith's life. He did not, however, quite forget her; for more than ten years later he named in her honor that point of land off the coast of Massachusetts which we now know as Cape Ann, and called the three small islands near by the Three Turks' Heads.

But now, having by the bounty of Prince Sigismund, his pockets full of golden ducats, and being, as he says quaintly, "satisfied with Europe and Asia," he resolved to see something of Africa, where a

very lively civil war was in progress in the Barbary States. King Muley Hamet had a short time before met the fate of many a good despot; and had perished through the despotism which he unwillingly represented. He was a reformer and an enlightened ruler, for his time and country; for the improvement of the arts and manufactures he had imported from England, "goldsmiths, plumbers, carvers and polishers of stone and watch-makers;" to each of whom he allowed ten shillings a day; besides other privileges in the way of apparel, and freedom from all import and export duties. But among his other possessions was a wife, "more cruel than any beast in Africa," says Captain Smith, who, to set her own son, Muley Sidan, upon the throne, poisoned her husband, her eldest son and her own daughter, with no better result than that civil war between the two remaining sons of Muley Hamet, to which we have referred.

It was in this war that our adventurer had hoped to find employment; for indeed Europe was practically at peace. But before committing himself he traveled through a large part of Northern Africa, his experiences in which seem to have been far less exciting than those that had befallen him in civilized Europe. He recounts them most quaintly and pleasantly, and, as the manner of the time then was, adds to the descriptions of the things that he himself saw, many travelers' tales, as well as a full account of the "unknown parts" of Africa, and the voyages and discoveries of the Portuguese in that region. For books in those days were rare and precious; the purchaser of a

volume of travels would feel that he had not quite the worth of his money if all available information on the subject were not included between the two boards; therefore it behooved the author to supplement what his own eyes had beheld by the result of other people's observations. But Smith leaves us in no doubt as to his authorities, referring us to the works of "that most excellent statesman, John de Leo, who afterwards turned Christian," to the "history of Edward Lopez, translated into English by Abraham Hartwell, and dedicated to the Archbishop of Canterbury," and to other writers, most of whose writings probably fell into our author's hands in the later years of his life.

For quick and active as his mind was in this year of our Lord, 1604, it was bent on other things than reading; and finding the African wars to be "perfidious, bloody murders rather than war," he returned with his traveling companion, a French captain, and the rest of the party, to Saffi, where they went aboard of the French ship, resolved "to try some other conclusions at sea."

This conclusion most likely spelled privateering; as to which we have found our hero by no means scrupulous; for indeed this particular mode of warfare, provided only that it were directed against the proper parties, does not seem to have given pain to the tenderest conscience until within the last century.* It is, therefore, with some glee that Smith

*It was opposed in Congress during the war of 1812, on moral grounds by Lowndes, of South Carolina, one of the leaders of the House.

relates how he and the Frenchman, with some others, were asked to supper aboard an English man-of-war, commanded by a captain called Merham. This hospitable gentleman spared not anything that he had to bid them welcome until it was too late to go on shore, so that necessity (as we can well believe) constrained them to stay aboard; but hard drinking was then the rule, and we have the testimony of those who knew him that our captain was in general of a sober and temperate habit.

The evening had been beautiful, but a sudden tropical storm forced the man-of-war to put to sea, "spooning before the wind," till they reached the Canaries. These islands were the happy hunting grounds of men-of-war of Merham's kidney; so "in the calms they accommodated themselves, hoping this strange accident might yet produce some good event." And sure enough they very soon captured a small bark coming from Teneriffe, laden with wine; but after chasing, ineffectually, two or three more—"two they took, but found little in them save a few passengers"—they heard of five Dutch warships cruising about the islands, in their effort to escape from whom they fell into the clutches of the Spaniards. Merchant-ships in those days were as large and imposing, with their array of guns, as the very largest and finest warships, yet when Merham hailed the two sails described off the African coast, it was too great a stretch of his credulity to be told that these were only two distressed "Biskiners," let him come aboard and take what he would. Too old a fox to be deceived by

such meekness in ships so warlike in appearance, Merham tried to escape; but being chased by the Spaniards, there ensued a most stirring sea-fight, conducted on both sides with desperate valor and lasting about two days; both also suffered severely, not only in numbers but in damage to the vessels; yet inasmuch as a single Englishman had maintained his honor and held his ship against two of the national foes, we may be justified in claiming for him the glory of victory. Slowly, and with difficulty, the disabled ship made its way again to Saffi, whence our hero at last resolved to return to England.

There ensues the portion of his life upon which we have the smallest degree of information. A few years later Wingfield writes of him: "It was proved to his face that he begged in Ireland, like a rogue without a license;" which event, however Wingfield exaggerated it, could only have happened at this time. That he who had now seen a large part of Europe, Asia and Africa, who had traveled through some part of England, and been shipwrecked on the coast of Scotland, should now desire to visit the sister island, is only what one would expect; that his usual fortune should overtake him and reduce him to the acceptance of charity is by no means unlikely. It is probably in indignant reference to this garbled statement of Wingfield's that Smith says* "I never needed to be importunate, nor could I ever learn to beg." He says also that he spent five years and nearly five hundred pounds of his own estate upon the Virginia colony;

*Smith's Collected Works, ed. Arber, p. 771.

this can only mean the time between 1604, when he returned from Africa, and 1609, when he was forced to leave Virginia, so that the tour in Ireland cannot have been of many months' duration, especially as we hear also of his being concerned in an abortive attempt to settle an English colony in South America, upon the river Oyapok, in 1605.

These data are, however, quite sufficient to enable us to construct a vivid mental picture of the things that he heard and saw and the people whom he must have met between his return from his true travels and his setting forth in 1607, to explore the shores of the Chesapeake, and to lay the first foundation stone of the United States; a picture which for a background requires some account of certain ideas and habits of thought then preponderant in the world and especially in England.

There were Protestants in England before there were Reformers, and that by the very meaning of the terms themselves; for it is the beginning of an evil that brings forth protest; and only when the monstrosity has attained such a growth as to make evident its line of development does reform become possible.

The history of the English Church, indeed, reminds us in some respects of that of Sigismund Balthori; it is the story of a protest that is perpetual against the encroachments on the one hand of the Papal power, and of the royal prerogative on the other; and also of alliances made with whichever foe appeared at the moment least formidable, against the aggressions of the other. By which course of action it had in Smith's

time reduced itself well-nigh to Sigismund's condition of inglorious subservience; and chiefly through its adhesion to a doctrine that has already been alluded to, but whose origin and course of development are now very briefly to be indicated—the doctrine, namely, of the Divine Right of Kings.

It was chiefly from Spain that England derived a theory altogether foreign to her own history and traditions. Sovereignty or leadership among the Gothic tribes was almost elective; the English tradition confined the rule to the members of a single family, but left the nation free to choose among these him who seemed best qualified for the kingship. Henry IV., though he had made his claim to the throne good by force of arms, based it chiefly upon the will of the people; the victories of his son in France made him the idol of the nation; but the physical and mental weakness of Henry VI. left the kingdom exposed to a civil strife, from which it was glad to find relief in the austere rule of Henry VII. The first of the Tudors understood perfectly well that, despite his union with the heiress of the White Rose, he was king of England only because and just so long as the people willed it so; from this he derived his well-known policy of strengthening the royal prerogative and accumulating treasure to support it. But though the despotic character of his son and successor tended to emphasize still more strongly the authority of the monarch, both civil and ecclesiastical, and though no ruler more autocratic than Elizabeth ever wore a crown, it was James I. who, in England, first formulated the theory

that the right of a king to rule was based upon the will and the choice of God; the evidence of which was to be sought, not in any special fitness of the chosen for rule or governance, but simply in the fact of primogeniture. Which law having been once enunciated, disobedience to the king became disobedience to God; and so far as the royal good-will had to do with the matter, there was left to England, of all her chartered and blood-bought rights, only the poor privilege of thankfulness that James, who himself claimed through the female line, had therefore not been able to follow his Spanish model to the extent of restricting the choice of Heaven strictly to heirs male.

It is questionable whether the dictum of James upon this subject would have been so tamely accepted but for the popularity of another adage, to the formation of which he was, happily for himself, impelled by the very peculiarity of a narrow and pedantic mind. Incapable of taking a broad and generous view of any matter, he was satisfied to busy himself with insignificant details, with abstractions and with curious and skilful word-play; and in paraphrasing the old saying, "no bishop, no church," he hit upon the timely proverb, "no bishop, no king." But, unable to generalize, James failed to reckon with the possible corollary to this proposition of which he was so unduly proud, the corollary unfailingly deduced by his Puritan subjects when the episcopate became distasteful to them, that neither king nor bishop was absolutely indispensable to the welfare of an Englishman.

He thus with his own hands began the construction

of the scaffold upon which his son was to suffer; but the immediate effect of his doctrine was to establish a sharp line of political and ecclesiastical cleavage; the king being defender of the faith, and his rule dependent on the support of the episcopacy, it followed that allegiance to the Church of England must be a part of an Englishman's duty, and that non-attendance upon her sacraments was not only irreligious but treasonable.

The story of American discoveries, so far as they progressed in 1604, will be very briefly sketched in another chapter; it is sufficient to say at present that when Smith reached London, in or about that year, he found the favorite project among men of enterprise the colonization of His Majesty's fifth kingdom of Virginia.* As is usual in human enterprises, it had a two-fold motive behind it. Raleigh, Richard Hakluyt, the Earl of Southampton, and others of their stripe were influenced by a far-seeing and noble patriotism; their desire was a stronghold against Spain on the shores of the New World. For this the reasons were statesmanlike as well as military. To possess oneself of the mines of gold and treasures of jewels which were believed to exist as well in Virginia as in Mexico, was an excellent thing; but it was equally good to make thus a practical assertion that the Pope had had no right over these undiscovered countries; and that his gift of the New World to Spain and Portugal

*France was still a nominal possession of the English crown, and the royal shield still quartered the fleurs-de-lis, with the three lions or leopards of England, the Scottish lion and the Irish harp.

was as foolish and as empty as his donation to Philip II. of the crown of England.

Raleigh was a prisoner in the Tower when Smith reached London; but there is no reason to doubt that the influence of Hakluyt worked upon him suddenly and powerfully. The old knightly romance upon which his youthful mind had been fed disposed him to the ready acceptance of this new chivalry; the conquering of savage lands for the Church and the King of England became to him from this time a crusade to whose measures of peace he was the more disposed, because of that disgust and horror with which we have seen him turn aside from war. Around this new ideal a new life in him began at once to grow up; his character crystalized upon different and nobler lines; he ceases from this time to be the mere soldier of fortune, and becomes the patriotic explorer and colonist whose name and fame have come down to our day.

But though such spirits as his might desire the gold of the New World simply for use in the cause of freedom, there remained a large number who lusted after it for much more personal reasons; some of these were wealthy merchants of London, Bristol and other towns, while the vast majority were adventurers—disbanded soldiers, returned from the wars, broken gentlemen or rascals who had made too hot for themselves, the unfortunate town or village that had given them birth. For these it was evidently necessary to find immediate employment; and the colonization scheme was the readiest and the most practicable thing that offered.

But like other plans for helping the unemployed, it required capital, and in those days there was also needful the permission of the king to convey out of his dominions the bodies of his lieges in such a wholesale manner as was proposed.

The story of the men who won this consent from James, and of their way of winning it, would fill a volume; when finally gained, it was in terms characteristic of a mind whose ruling principle appears to have been that the chief end of a ruler is to set as many of his subjects as possible together by the ears. Whether this were due to moral shortsightedness or to overconfidence in his divine right of healing discords it is impossible to say; but his congenital timidity is evident in the limits assigned to the land of Virginia, limits which very happily avoided that evil of trenching too closely upon the settlements already established, into which the abortive colony at the Oyapok had already fallen. Virginia was defined as lying between the thirty-fourth and the forty-fifth parallels; or between the mouth of the Cape Fear River and the line dividing Vermont from Canada.* This territory was further thus apportioned: the southern part between the thirty-fourth and forty-first parallel was to be occupied by the first colony; while the portion of the second colony was to be by no means, as might be supposed, that included by the remaining four degrees, but was to begin at the thirty-eighth degree and run north to the forty-fifth; thus furnishing

*See "Old Virginia and Her Neighbors," by John Fiske, Chapter II., from which the remainder of this chapter is mainly taken.

a borderland or debateable ground and ready bone of contention, whose only conceivable charm, even to such a mind as that of James, was its approximation to the state of affairs which once subsisted between England and "Braid Scotland."

The affairs of the colonies were to be administered by a single Royal Council of Virginia, situated in London, thirteen in all; whose members were to be appointed by the king himself. This council was to appoint a local resident council for each colony, and the first president of each for the first year. For each year thereafter each council had the liberty of electing its own president as well as of deposing him in case of misconduct; its membership was to be filled from within itself and not by the choice of the colonists. Lands were to be held in common, and the rights and liberties of Englishmen in England were guaranteed to the settlers and their children; a mode of speech which, as he had neglected to provide for the education of such children, and had in terms deprived the colonists of the franchise, cost the divinely right sovereign absolutely nothing.

Sir Walter Raleigh, to whom Elizabeth had granted all this territory by patent, and who had spent in discoveries and in attempts at colonization something like a million dollars, now lay in prison a victim to the king's petty spite and jealous timidity, and deprived by attainder of high treason of all his lands at home or over seas. Virginia, therefore, had reverted to the crown, and on April 10th, Old Style, 1606, James issued the charter to which brief allusion has

thus been made. The persons engaged in furthering the establishment of the Southern colony, and who, with others, came afterwards to be known as the London or Virginia Company, were four in number; the Rev. Richard Hakluyt, prebendary of Westminster, whose "Discourse on Western Planting" had been written some years before, at Raleigh's request, and in aid of his statesmanlike plans; Sir Thomas Gates, an old soldier, who had seen service in Spain and the Netherlands; Sir George Somers, whose valor at sea against the same foe had received the same reward of knighthood; and Captain Edward Maria Wingfield, whom we shall learn to know better. His feminine middle name he inherited from his father, along with the Catholic religion and Stoneley Priory in Huntingdonshire, the paternal Wingfield having been named after the foreign fashion, under the sponsorship of Cardinal Pole and Queen Mary herself, of unfortunate life and bloody memory.

The Second or Plymouth Company, as it was called in later years, was represented by Raleigh Gilbert, son of Raleigh's half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert; William Parker, commonly known as Lord Monteagle, to whom was addressed the anonymous letter which led to the detection of the Gunpowder Plot; George Popham and Thomas Hanham, son and nephew, respectively, of Sir John Popham, Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

The two companies went immediately and diligently to work to fit out their ships and gather their colonists together. The London Company was ready

first. Its expedition comprised three ships and was placed under the command of Captain Christopher Newport, an ancient sea dog who had served under Raleigh. He was a skilful seaman, an excellent officer, and an honest man; but perhaps somewhat prejudiced and opinionated, and it may be at times forced by stress of circumstances to wink at practises which he would by no means have ordered or chosen. His ship was the *Susan Constant;* the others were the *Godspeed,* commanded by Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, and the *Discovery,* by John Ratcliffe. The number of colonists aboard the three ships was one hundred and five besides the ships' crews; and among them were included Smith, Wingfield, afterwards first president of the Colonial Council, and the Rev. Robert Hunt, a clergyman of the Church of England, a devout and godly man, loyal, wise and true-hearted, without whom the Jamestown settlers would probably have come to greater and more irremediable grief.

This company set forth down the Thames from Blackwall, on December 19, 1606, but was obliged by "unprosperous winds" to lie off the Downs until New Year's Day, 1607 (according to our modern calendar), when it was finally able to get under way. Meanwhile the Plymouth Company were not idle; on the last day of the May following two ships, the *Gift of God,* and the *Mary and John,* commanded by George Popham and Raleigh Gilbert, respectively, sailed from Plymouth with a hundred settlers. They succeeded in reaching the mouth of the Kennebec River where they built a fort; but the hardships of the

winter, the failure to discover gold or silver, the death of George Popham and the news from England which reached them in the spring that Sir John Popham, their chief friend at home, had also died, and that Gilbert had succeeded by his brother's death to the family estate, combined to bring about the abandonment of the enterprise. The colony returned to England with reports of the transatlantic situation which we are tempted to call exaggerated. It would have been but human thus to account for their return to the old country; but the same course had been forced upon every expedition that had tried to make a settlement within the northerly portion of the New World, and one must confess that the difficulties of the undertaking were enormous and the hardships terrible.

Thus the Jamestown settlers were left in undisputed possession of the land. They had in their favor a somewhat milder climate than that of the Kennebec region; but the directions and restrictions from the home authorities by which they were hampered, their poor and unprovided condition, and the personnel of the expedition were such that failure would have seemed to a modern and unprejudiced eye a foregone conclusion; except that they had, most happily, among them a man who understood almost everything else but the giving up of that which he had once undertaken. It was, without a question, upon the personality of John Smith that the survival of the Jamestown colony depended; and upon the survival of the Jamestown colony depended the existence of the future United States.

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CHAPTER VIII.

How America Was Discovered; and Other Pleasant Matters.

The story of the discovery of America, as we read it in the delightful pages of Mr. John Fiske, upon whom, as we could have resort to no more cheerful or authoritative historian, we shall chiefly rely for the material of our present chapter, is a story as varied in interest as the Arabian Nights, and more full of saints and heroes than the Quest of the San Grail.

And the curious part of it is, that though a story of heroism and saintliness, it is also a story of commerce; of that life of mercantile adventure which, as we have seen, the young John Smith had been willing to accept if it could have been given to him immediately; but for which he was not willing to wait or to submit to the necessary training. And yet when some fine day a historian like Mr. Fiske shall write a history of commerce,* from the earliest times until now, it will be seen that the world owes to her traders more than is usually suspected; not merely the discovery of new lands and the spread of luxuries and refinement, but even such matters as the invention of the alphabet and of the science of numbers.

*I am far from undervaluing Anderson's "History of Commerce," in six volumes; a very rare book, and on this account and others impracticable for the use of modern readers.

Certainly both Asia and Africa were known to the ancients; but that the one could be reached from Europe by sailing round the other was flatly denied by most geographers of those days, even though there existed a tradition that an Egyptian squadron, some six or seven centuries before Christ, sailed from the Red Sea, and returned through the Mediterranean in the third year after starting. In sailing from east to west around Africa it is said to have had the sun on the right; and as this detail could hardly have been invented by persons unacquainted with the Southern hemisphere, it is considered good evidence that the expedition sailed beyond the equator at least; and it is possible that the whole story is true. But whatever reason there may have been for undertaking so tedious and dangerous a voyage there was certainly none for repeating it; and though Phœnician navigators explored to some extent the Atlantic coast of Africa, and their descendants, the Carthaginians, were acquainted with the Canaries and possibly with the Cape Verde and Madeira Islands, the circumnavigability of that country remained unsettled until the fifteenth century, when it took the form of an important commercial question.

The Portuguese, by their geographical position at the extreme west of Europe, were shut out to a great extent from the trade with India and China, which had made the glory and the greatness of Venice and of Genoa. China also, after having been open for a whole century to the trade of Europe, had been suddenly placed under a religious seal by the accession,

in 1368, of the first emperor of the Ming dynasty; while the growing power of the Turk made traffic through the Mediterranean more and more unsafe. But, meanwhile, the merchant Marco Polo and his brothers, the Florentine merchant Francesco, Pegolotti and the papal legate Marignolli, had given to the world credible information, not only of the wonders of Cathay and the overland route to that country and to India, but also of a marvelous island kingdom of Cipango or Zipangu (Japan), lying in the open sea now first known to exist east of Asia. This island empire whose wealth and wonders passed all experience, might be reached from Europe, if it could be proved possible to circumnavigate Africa; and Portugal by this route being geographically nearest the goal was naturally first to show the way thither.

Perhaps the most picturesque figure in this section of the world's history is that of Prince Henry the Navigator, in his rocky observatory upon the promontory of Sagres in the southernmost part of Portugal, absorbed in his charts and calculations, and sending forth and recalling his ships and sailors with a wave of his hand like the grandmother and her pigeons in the fairy story. Captain after captain went forth at his bidding and many foundations of after things were laid in his time; in 1471 two of his seamen, Santarem and Escobar, crossed the equator; and in 1468 Bartholomew Dias was driven by a storm, after he had sailed four hundred miles south of the tropic of Capricorn, around the Cape of Good Hope, and steering northward after the stress of weather had passed,

he landed at the mouth of the Gaurits River, two hundred miles northward on the Eastern coast.* Among his shipmates upon this voyage we find the name of Bartholomew Columbus, younger brother of the great discoverer; but it was the voyage of Santarem and Escobar that had inspired in the mind of Christopher Columbus the thought by virtue of which he outranks all the navigators of his day the thought that the world being spherical in shape, it was possible to reach this open sea east of Asia, and the golden kingdom of Cipango by sailing not east but west.†

The story of the wanderings of the great navigator from court to court, and of his vain efforts to interest sovereign after sovereign in a scheme, the foundation principle of which was too simple to be easily comprehended by the ordinary mind, is too familiar for repetition; when at last he triumphantly landed upon the Island of Guanahani, or San Salvador, it was still in the belief that he had found what he set out to seek, and had reached an outlying islet of Cipango, the island kingdom of India,‡ which, as he sailed west to reach it, grew to be called the West Indies. The name which still belongs to those islands sufficiently commemorates the real glory of Columbus. When, in 1497, Americus Vespucius explored the Pearl Coast

*The circumnavigability of Africa was not fully established, until Vasco da Gama sailed round it from east to west in 1497.

†Fiske says "The idea was already in the air" (Disc. of Am. Vol. I., p. 366). But the ability to believe as steadfastly in a mere logical or mathematical deduction as in the results of actual experience, is characteristic of genius and of genius only.

‡A term which included an undefined portion of Asia.

of Central America, previously visited by Columbus during his third voyage; when he discovered the coast of Florida, and thence the Eastern coast of the present United States possibly as far north as Cape Charles, he had still no thought that any country but Asia was the subject of discovery. But the voyage of Vespucius to Brazil opened to Europe, as it was believed, a veritable New World; this was not Asia, but another place altogether; and Columbus himself would have given Americus full credit for the extent and the importance of this achievement. It is impossible for lack of space to give in this place all the steps by which it became evident to the civilized world that Columbus had discovered, not a short route to Asia, but a barrier between Asia and Europe; the map presented to Queen Elizabeth by Dr. John Dee in 1530 is the first which shows North America as a distinct continent, with all the Northwest a solid mass of terra incognita. By this time all the Eastern coast had been visited and mapped, at least after a fashion; the main outlines of the Gulf of Mexico had been drawn, and the Western coast was known as far north as the limits of old California. In the interior a great river was known to empty into the Mexican gulf, which De Soto had called Espiritu Santo, but which, until La Salle's magnificent courage explored its length from its junction with the Illinois to its mouth, was not known in all its greatness as the Mississippi.

North of the Gulf of California popular belief hollowed away the Western coast for the reception of an enor-

mous bay of the Pacific Ocean or South Sea; this was known from the name of the explorer who professed to have discovered it, and who probably did discover some body of water to which his imagination assigned undue proportions as the Gulf or Sea of Verrazano. And the faith, even of the scientific men of that age, clung so persistently to the existence of this sea that one is tempted to inquire by what process of thought they so deluded themselves, since learned men, whether of the sixteenth or the twentieth century, are not apt to cling so obstinately to a mistake that lacks argument of all description for its support.

A little study of the map of the Western hemisphere, as we have it now, the heritage of the smallest schoolboy, is sufficient to throw some light on the matter. The conquest of Peru and the settlements of the Spaniards in Central America had demonstrated the existence of a vast mountain chain which might correctly be supposed to run the whole length of the continent. Some of its curves and bendings were already known, and there seemed no reason why it should not again curve inward from Northern Mexico, at least as far east as the longitude of the Andes. But this longitude is not far from that of the Appalachian range,* which, therefore, when the explorers of the Eastern coast heard of it in the interior, appeared to them merely a continuation of the gold-bearing mountains of South America, beyond which the existence of this Sea of Verrazano was believed in because of its antecedent prob-

*From the sixty-fifth to the eightieth meridian includes a large portion of both ranges of mountains.

ability. Hence came the persistent and fruitless efforts to reach the South Sea by sailing up and through every gulf and bay on the Western coast and exploring each river flowing from the west; since it was supposed that somewhere or other in all that vast length of coast must exist some northerly strait, which like the Strait of Magellan, must give entrance to the Pacific, though through the Sea of Verrazano.

And hence also the special instructions to the Virginia colonists, drawn up probably by the wise and godly Richard Hakluyt himself, which the reader may find in the appendix; and the harassing orders, repeated again and again from London, that they were by all means, the mountains being actually there, as before conjectured, to cross them at once, and so find themselves gazing forth on the broad Pacific. Doubtless, to those good folks conning their huge charts in the peaceful seclusion of an Oxford or London library, the obstinate stupidity and indolence of the colonists in neglecting to perform a task so simple and easy appeared nothing less than colossal. It was John Smith who first attained a realizing sense of something like the true proportions of the North American continent. He saw possibly the map of Dr. Dee; but the work of even this eminent cartographer was merely hypothetical; he was an exponent of what John Fiske calls the "dry theory," which in the absence of positive information filled up the vacant spaces of his map with land rather than water. Smith was, it is true, at first deluded by the too plausible Powhatan, to believe the Blue Ridge "mighty moun-

tains betwixt the two seas," yet his later conversations with the Indians convinced him that the salt sea of which they had told him was very much farther away than he or any one had previously supposed.*

We shall in the next chapter return to the Virginia expedition, and trace its course and its haps and mishaps, both by land and sea; but it seems advisable first to give some slight account of other misconceptions with which the minds of the voyagers were filled, both as to the climate and the productions of the country to which they were bound, and also of the inhabitants already in possession; and as some of these misconceptions still persist in our school histories, and therefore in the apprehension of the general reader, to set forth as succinctly as possible the true state of the case.

There seems some reason to suppose with the historian Burk, from the sufferings of the colonists during the winter that they were to encounter—the same which broke up the endurance of the more northern colony—that the climate of Virginia has changed materially from the felling of the forests and the more thickly populated state of the country. For doubtless such causes as these have been operative to a great extent, just as, at this moment, the growth of population and consequent increase of vegetation, and especially the planting of trees, is said to be changing the climate of certain prairie lands in the South and

*When the explorations became troublesome to Powhatan he assured Smith, "But for any salt water beyond the mountains the relations you have had from my people are false." Smith's Works, p. 124.

West. But the crucial question in this regard is not so much what the colonists actually found in respect of wind and weather as what they expected to find. The latitude of the proposed colony between the thirty-fourth and forty-first parallels is, we remember, the latitude of Spain and of the extreme northern part of Africa; the figures were most unlikely to convey to English minds that idea which we know at present to be correct—of a climate very much warmer in summer and colder in winter than the climate of England. And as the winter in 1607 was even in England unusually severe,* we may be very certain that the Jamestown settlers, prepared only for weather such as they would have found in Peru, Brazil or Tangier; without anything like a comfortable log cabin, even, by way of dwelling, and with no proper food or warm clothing, were like to put in a very bad time indeed.

It was, perhaps, Spanish enslavement of and barbarity to the Indians that had inspired the English with the desire to do as far as possible from the same thing. There was evidence enough before the world to bring the Indian in guilty, ten thousand times over, of murder, treachery and abominable savagery, but it was convenient to suppose that conduct of this sort had been provoked by former colonists, especially if they happened to be Spaniards, and that the red man, if well treated and properly propitiated, would be found to be a highly respectable and law-abiding member of society. There are, indeed, many persons who think so still, but what are the facts?

*Smith's Works, p. 896 and p. 344.

The Virginia Indians, who seem indeed, in some respects, to have reached a rather higher point of development than those Carib Indians of the Bermudas, whose name corrupted into cannibal sufficiently describes them, belonged like all the other inhabitants of North and South America to a great red race, one in origin and in its main lines of development, though found in its various subdivisions at many different stages of social evolution. Of these the Aztecs of Mexico and the Incas of Peru had attained the period of upper barbarism; marked in the latter by the keeping of flocks and herds (llamas and vicuñas), and in the former by the invention of picture-writing. But north of the Rio Grande was not even this approach to the arts of civilization;* and Virginia was held by a confederacy of tribes at the head of which stood the Powhatans, whose seat was on the river of their name, now called the James. These had not passed beyond the upper period of savagery; their weapons were chiefly the stone tomahawk, the bow and stone-tipped arrow. They built houses of a sort, wore clothing of skins and furs, and had much skill in the adornment of these with beads, feathers and variously hued dyes; they wove mats also for beds and other uses, and planted corn, beans and other vegetables, though they had no real knowledge of agriculture. It was not uncommon, even among the Powhatans, to eat the heart of a prisoner who had shown himself particularly brave under torture, in

*Though most Indian tribes possess at least the rudiments of picture writing.

order to acquire his courage for themselves; other tribes on the continent ate the prisoner himself, habitually and with relish.

That they had some knowledge of the Spaniard and his civilized savagery is certain, since a regular intercourse took place, as we shall see, between Virginia and Mexico. Moreover, when one hunting-ground or farming stead showed signs of exhaustion, it was simpler for a tribe to pull up stakes and move on than to preserve the game, or use fertilizers. Intelligence could thus readily be passed along from tribe to tribe, accidentally encountering one another, or between individuals who chanced to meet in the course of extended hunts.

Inheritance was through the mother only; thus, the Powhatan, or head of his tribe, and known by its name, as Rob Roy was the MacGregor, brought mental confusion upon the Jamestown colonists by the simple statement that he would be succeeded in his chieftainship by one of his brothers, sons of the same mother, and not by any of his own numerous progeny. Marriage was regarded with respect as long as it lasted; but the husband was never looked upon as a member of that section of the tribe to which his wife belonged; and though admitted as a resident of the communal house which was her home, he was always subject to a latent notice to quit, which might at any moment that she grew thoroughly tired of him become immediately and actively operative. This communal house was oblong in shape, with an aisle running down the centre, on either side of which were rows of apart-

ments, each the dwelling of a family more or less separate.* It was regarded with all its contents of food and clothing, and with its fields, as belonging by indefeasible right to the female portion of the tribe, or family within the tribe, to which it pertained. The men had simply nothing at all to say in the matter; their duties in life being to defend the village and to bring home game for food and captives for the amusement of its inhabitants.

The favorite virtues of a people such as this would of necessity be those which conduced to the welfare of the race; among them, as we have seen, courage held the highest rank. Pity was unknown; truth towards a member of the tribe was almost a matter of course, at least in great matters; towards an enemy it would have been regarded as indescribably silly and out of place. Against all outsiders the tribe maintained an attitude of armed distrust and defiance; using them for its advantage so far as possible, propitiating them with gifts when too strong to be driven away or massacred, but always ready for this last named, most desirable consummation, whenever the carelessness or weakness of the interlopers should leave a loophole for attack. And with all this was mingled that jealousy of a lower race towards a higher; that consciousness not only that the land was unable to bear, without putting more force into the cornfields, a greater burden than the Indians themselves, but also that

*This was the general type, which varied with the tribe or locality. The Virginia wigwams seem to have consisted of one apartment only.

these Indians could not maintain themselves, could not hold their own in presence of the white man, which, working upon such leading intellects as those of Opechancanough in Virginia and King Philip in New England, brought ruin and desolation to so many flourishing settlements.

These were the people with whom Newport's expedition would have to do; it remained to be seen whether the policy of non-offence, of kindness, conciliation and even tenderness to the red men, which they were charged to carry out, would accord with the character of the men whom they had chosen to execute it. Las Casas, it is true, found kindness more effectual than coercion or cruelty; but even John Smith was not a Las Casas.

CHAPTER IX.

How They Voyaged and Voyaged; and Came by Chance to Virginia.

"The powers that be are ordained of God," says St. Paul; and it is quite curious to note that, however silly and obstructive were the directions with which the Jamestown expedition was hampered, it was a literal obedience to these that led to the discovery of the Chesapeake; a harbor which offered at that moment about the best opening for the plantation and survival of a colony that was to be found on the Western coast of North America. Spain, it is true, had no longer either strength or energy for such severe measures as she had employed towards the Huguenot colony in Florida; but this fact was better known to herself than to England; and the correspondence between Philip III. and his minister in London, lately discovered and translated by Mr. Alexander Brown,* shows us that the former mistress of the seas still possessed the desire, though not all the power, to do unto heretics all that she most strenuously objected to having them do unto her.

Newport's sailing directions took him first to the Canaries, and thence to the West Indies on his way to Virginia; a route which, to the bolder spirits aboard,

*Genesis of the United States, by Alexander Brown.

must have seemed unnecessarily circuitous. For not only had the modern method of great circle sailing been successfully practised by Americus Vespucius more than a hundred years before, but Gosnold, Newport's second in command on this voyage, had in 1602 crossed almost directly from the English Channel to Cape Cod to which he gave its name. One hardly needs to be very deeply versed in mathematics to understand the advantages of great circle sailing, over that sailing by right angles, as we may term it, which we shall presently see practised by our colonies-to-be; a great circle being the intersection of a plane passed through the earth's centre with the surface of the sphere. On a flat or plane surface a straight line is the shortest distance between any two points; the shortest distance between any two points on a sphere is the arc of the great circle passing through them both.

But the method in vogue in the time of Columbus, and still in 1607, practised by most navigators of the Atlantic, was to run down first to the latitude which they desired to find on the other side of the world, and then to sail due west. The latitude of the Canaries had the further advantage of giving the mariner the help of the trade-winds; but this latitude was several degrees south of the extreme southern limits of the Virginia colony, so that the entire route cannot but appear somewhat out of the way. It is doubtful, perhaps, whether in the more northern latitudes to which great circle-sailing would have limited the adventurers, the voyage would have been as successful at that unfavorable season of the year as it proved by the

longer route; but, be that as it may, we are not left to conjecture Captain John Smith's opinion on the subject. In his description, written in 1622,* of the voyage of Amidas and Barlow in 1584, he says: "The 27th of April they set sail from the Thames, the 10th of May passed the Canaries and the 10th of June the West Indies; which unneedful southern course (but then no better was known) occasioned them at that season much sickness."

Smith was an excellent navigator; and the map of Virginia which he drew, from the results of his own observations and explorations in 1612, as well as his map of New England, is figured with compasses, designed to promote what he considered the only true method of reaching these distant points.

We do not know upon which ship he made the voyage; but whichever one it was, it contained also a person with whom our adventurer could have had few points of sympathy. This was Edward Maria Wingfield, who, though honest, despite the accusations afterwards brought against him, was narrow, timid and opinionated; probably, also, selfish and dictatorial, as such natures usually are. Between this person and Smith differences of opinion arose almost from the first; while they lay in the Downs, indeed, there was little occupation but disputing, open to any of the party, and what the result would have been we do not quite know, but for the efforts of the Rev. Robert Hunt, who, though himself sick in body, and almost within sight of his home in Southern England, during

*Smith's Works, p. 305.

this prevalence of head winds, would not take away his hand from the plough, or go home to recover of his sickness, but spent himself, and was spent, to promote peace between these contentious spirits.

Meanwhile, the provisions, which should have been for the support of the colony upon Virginian shores, diminished daily while thus they lay in sight of land; and as each morning decreased the probable percentage of financial profit, and increased the likelihood of total loss and entire failure, Smith, who had, he tells us, invested five hundred pounds in the enterprise,* became each day more and more discontented and disgusted with the management of affairs. Wingfield, on the other hand, seems to have upheld constituted authority from preference as well as on principle; bitter words therefore passed between the two, for Smith was at no period of his life likely to be slack in expressing his opinion.

He was not moreover the only discontented person aboard the three ships; and the superstitious fears of the adventurers were excited by a "blazing Starre" or meteor, of which Master George Percy tells us,† which appeared on the night of the twelfth of February "and was presently followed by a storm."

On March twenty-third they reached the West Indies; and on the twenty-fourth, when crews and colonists had gone ashore on the island of Dominica, Wingfield took the opportunity to accuse Smith of participation in a mutiny which seems to have been

*Smith's Works, p. 266-7.
†Smith's Works, p. lvii.

really projected* at some time during the voyage by one Galthrop. In the subsequent trial at Jamestown the exact nature of the charge comes out; namely, that he intended to "usurp the government, murder the council, and make himself king; that his confederates were dispersed in all the three ships." No doubt there was discontent and murmuring in all, but there is no shadow of proof that Smith knew of any mutiny, far less that he cherished the wild plans here indicated, which would have entailed upon him for the future the life of an outlaw if not of a pirate. Wingfield, however, had probably been reduced by the hardships and monotony of the voyage to a condition of hysterical credulity, which was shared by others aboard the flotilla; for during the six days that the expedition stayed at Nevis, the authorities seem to have amused themselves, while the men were hunting, fishing and generally taking their pleasure after long sea travel and sea food, in a fashion which Smith thus describes. "Such factions here we had . . . that a pair of gallows was made; but Captain Smith, for whom they were intended, could not be persuaded to use them."†

One easily fancies the gallant captain standing off his accusers, perhaps with his sword in his hand and the thought of his three Turks' heads in his memory; and one excuses the slight glorification of the importance of his position in the colony, with which he

*ib. p. xc.

†ib. p. 910.

tells us that his stop on this occasion was "to wood and water, and refresh my men."*

There is little doubt that Smith appeared to himself all through this adventure as that which he really was, the person in the colony of widest experience and greatest force of character; and in the relation of these happenings in the last years of his life (1629) he remembered his own share in the expedition very largely in the light of this conviction.

But though his accusers at Nevis did not quite dare to put him to death, they succeeded, probably when they had him once more aboard ship, in holding him a prisoner ("and for nothing," as he very forcibly puts it) until after their arrival at Jamestown.

Among the West India Islands they voyaged, from one to another, charmed, as all travelers thither have been, both before and after them, until they attained the tiny islet of Monica, lying almost upon the sixty-eighth meridian west of Greenwich. Here they turned their course northerly and on April 14th crossed the tropic of Cancer. At about this point they had expected to make their landfall; for it should be remembered that almost the only portions of the coast whose longitude was positively known were Florida, Roanoke and "Norumbega," or Nova Scotia and New England. Being now in the approximate longitude of Cape Cod, why, pray, should they not make land? questioned our adventurers. But they had gone three days beyond their reckoning, or beyond the point where land should properly have appeared, according

*ib. p. 909.

to their expectations, and still only the ocean waves hove in sight, when Providence came to the rescue of their ignorance with a great storm. "God, the guider of all good actions, forcing them by an extreme storm to hull all night, did drive them by his providence to their desired port, beyond all their expectations; for never any of them had seen that coast."*

"The sixth and twentieth day of April (1607), about four o'clock in the morning, we descried the land of Virginia.

"The same day we entered into the Bay of Chesupioc directly, without let or hindrance."†

So says Master George Percy. The land thus seen was the southern cape, which the colonists called in honor of the eldest son of King James, that hopeful Prince Henry, whose reign, had he lived to succeed to the throne, would probably have changed the whole course of English and American history. For having inherited the intellect and the charm of the Stuarts without their narrow and bigoted obstinacy, he would have known, in all probability, how to avert, by wise concessions, the Great Rebellion; in which case there would have been no Puritan exodus, no Oliver Cromwell; and Plymouth Rock would have remained unsung.

Eager to see the land they had sought so long, a party of the colonists went ashore that day; we can easily fancy what they beheld and how unlike it was to what they had for the most part expected. "Fair

*Smith's Works, p. 387.

†Smith's Works, p. lxi.

meadows and goodly tall trees," says George Percy; "with such fresh waters running through the woods, as I was almost ravished at the first sight thereof."*

But no ivory palaces gleaming with gems, no gold mines; these, however, might be further in the interior, towards the "hills" or the rolling country that gave promise of them. When the party, consisting of some twenty or thirty, had thus recreated themselves, and "discovered a little way," they were returning towards the ships as night began to fall, when they espied five Indians creeping towards them like bears, with their bows in their mouths. These were probably the scouts of a strong party, who, finding themselves discovered, charged desperately upon the English, probably in the hope of cutting off stragglers. But Newport had been cautious enough to send only picked men. The twenty or thirty of whom we read contained among others, Newport himself, Wingfield and Gosnold, with Captains Gabriel Archer and Matthew Morton, who had seen Indian fighting in the neighborhood of the Amazon. The two last named were seriously hurt, the latter it was supposed mortally, though he subsequently recovered and did good service in the East Indies.† Several others were wounded; then the Indians, having spent their stock of arrows, retired, and the discoverers returned on board unmolested.

That night in the cabin of the *Susan Constant*, the

*Smith's Works, p. lxi.

†Smith's Works, p. 896.

box was opened that contained their instructions and the names of the Council.

The childishness of fitting out such an expedition as this, under men so skilful and experienced, and then endowing them with a box, which, like that of the princess in the fairy tale, must of necessity be their chief centre of interest, yet must on penalties dire remain unopened until they should reach their journey's end, was very characteristic indeed of King James. Doubtless the reason for the proceeding which appeared valid to the king and the London Company was to concentrate all authority in the hands of Newport for the time of the voyage; but this could not only have been better accomplished in another way, but as a matter of fact the means chosen were self-defeating. For it was well known that only a certain few among them could aspire to be among the chosen; and each of these was probably inwardly convinced that his was a right which the most prejudiced potentate could not overlook. Thus each would feel himself in authority during the entire voyage, and each would very likely scorn the pretensions, whether concealed or expressed, of every other.

But now the names of the Council were found to be the seven following: Christopher Newport, Bartholomew Gosnold, Edward Wingfield, John Smith, John Ratcliffe, John Martin and George Kendal. These from among themselves were to choose a president to serve for one year, and, Captain Smith being still a prisoner, Wingfield, on May 13th, the expedition having then reached the place where they intended to establish

themselves, was chosen president, he and the Council were sworn into office, "and an oration was made why Captain Smith was not admitted of the Council as the rest."*

It is doubtful whether this oration satisfied Smith's friends among the colonists; but Wingfield by his social position and wealth in England, as well as his clear, though narrow and obstinate integrity of character, was a person of importance in the enterprise and clearly had the ear of Newport and Gosnold. And one is driven to the conclusion that if there were no foundation for the charges against Smith, there must have been at least some ill-looking circumstances for them to find credence, even for a short time, with such men as these. Smith persistently speaks of "my men," "my soldiers," "I, with my party," etc.; and we know that Robinson and Charleton were of his old command in Transylvania, and were the only two Englishmen who escaped alive from the battle of Rothenthurm. Others, as Anas Todkill and Richard Potts, express themselves as being bound to him by a special allegiance;† what is more likely than that they joined the expedition under his influence, and probably even through his assistance in procuring an equipment?‡ Such men as these would then be the confederates who were in all the ships as previously quoted; and it needs only a very

*Smith's Works, p. 386.

†Smith's Works, p. 167.

‡Especially as we shall find him, later in our history, thus fitting out adventurers at his own expense for the projected New England Colony.

little imprudence of speech in them, a trifle of overzeal, an impatient word or two when things went wrong, to make a pretty case of conspiracy indeed, which Wingfield could not only believe himself, as we may be confident that he did, but could impose upon Newport and Gosnold.

Whether Smith had a voice in the location chosen for the settlement we cannot be sure. It had some advantages as a defensible place against the savages, of whose enmity—though in the days succeeding they had been more friendly—the colonists had been so immediately made aware.

Exploring in the shallop a few miles northward from Cape Henry, they had discovered a river flowing from the west, which by the Indians was called Powhatan or Falling Waters, from the falls at its head. From this river the tribe took its name and the great war-chief his title; but the English called it by the name of their king, the James; and finding, after some disappointing soundings, water deep enough to float their ships, in a narrow channel close by a point of land at the north of the river, they named this promontory Point Comfort. Near by was an Indian village called Kecoughtan; a place to which was afterward given the name of Hampton.

A river flowing from the west was, as we know (vide appendix) one of the chief points in their instructions; westward, therefore, they fared cheerfully, here and there landing and being feasted and entertained in divers manners by the savages, who had been a little overawed by the firmness with which their initial

onset had been received, and were now trying the tactics of propitiation. The place selected on May 13th for the seat of the settlement was a peninsula on the north side of the river, connected with the mainland only by a very narrow neck of land, which could easily be cut through or fortified against attack, and thus formed a really good military position. But for a settlement it was by no means a desirable "seating place," being low, marshy and malarious; just such a location, in fact, as their instructions expressly warned them to avoid. There was a dispute, Smith tells us, between Wingfield and Gosnold as to the site; but Smith himself considers it "a very fit situation for the founding of a great city."* However, its selection cost the colony dear in the death of Captain Gosnold, who fell a victim to the climate on August 22, 1607; a very true and gallant gentleman.†

The members of the Council seem to have considered it their earliest duty to provide for the defence of the settlers; they, therefore, took in hand to contrive the building of a fort while the majority of the party cut down trees, in order to make a place on the densely wooded peninsula for the many tents required by so many newcomers; others cut the felled trees into clapboard, with which to relade the ships; for these primeval forest trees contained many of which the Old World already knew the value. Others of the settlers prepared the ground for agriculture, yet others made nets for fishing; every one was busy and should

*Smith's Works, p. 6.

†Smith's Works, p. lxxi.

have been contented; the savages often paid them visits with alleged friendly intent. But dissensions already prevailed in the Council. It would have seemed self-evident that the settlers should have been exercised in the use of arms and trained to defend their fortifications; but Wingfield appears to have been completely deceived by the friendly demeanor of the Indians and would not permit anything that might have the appearance of distrust. He, therefore, forbade all military exercises, and permitted no fortifications except "the boughs of trees cast together in the form of a half-moon by the extraordinary diligence of Captain Kendal." *

Meantime, though Smith was considered in disgrace, he was too experienced and valuable a person and was considered too dangerous to be left at large and idle. It was probably for the sake of keeping him out of mischief that he was sent with Newport and twenty others to explore the James River. They were about six weeks upon an expedition whose description we reserve for another chapter; upon their return, Smith, alleging that thirteen weeks was long enough to lie under an undeserved imputation, demanded an investigation. There seems, indeed, to have been a design to send him back to England to receive acquittal or condemnation at the hands of the London Company; but inasmuch as the local council possessed the right of trying local cases, Smith pleaded his right to appear first before them, reserving the London Council as a court of appeal.

*Smith's Works, p. 387.

The generous indignation of Smith's defenders* accused his accusers of suborning witnesses. Though there is no reason to believe so extreme a statement as this, it seems certain that the charge against our hero was not only dismissed as absurd and libelous, but that Wingfield, as scandalmonger-in-chief, was mulcted in two hundred pounds damages, about one thousand pounds in current value, or five thousand dollars. This was the whole amount of his property in America. From his own account of these proceedings, Wingfield considers himself to have had rather hard measure; undoubtedly there were violent and evil passions on all sides; but Smith with a high-handed generosity characteristic of him, and which doubtless increased his popularity, already tolerably great, turned over the amount of the fine, which was chiefly in stores of food and clothing, into the common stock of the settlers. It was doubtless easier for him to do this than to be just to Wingfield, whom he detested with a cordiality that placed upon all the President's actions the worst possible construction. But through the exhortations of their pastor, the Rev. Robert Hunt, some sort of a peace was patched up among all these discordant elements; Smith was sworn in as a member of the Council on the twentieth of June. The next day all received the communion and on June 22d Captain Newport set sail for England, leaving in Virginia, of colonists about one hundred and five, and of discord, enough for a kingdom.

*Smith's Works, p. 389.

CHAPTER X.

How They Discovered Up the River, and What Befell Thereafter.

Leaving Captain Kendal, of whom we shall hear more a little later, sedulously laboring to build the fort, and Wingfield as diligently striving to hinder him from so doing, Captain Newport with, as when they landed on Cape Henry, a company of picked men, embarked in the shallop on May 20th to discover the "King's River." It is not wonderful that he should have set forth with a "perfect resolution" to find one of five things—the head of the river, the "lake" mentioned by others before (probably some confused rumor of the great lakes), the sea again, the mountains Apalatsi (Appalachian), or some issue, by which was meant that strait corresponding to the Strait of Magellan, which, as we have already seen, was believed with some show of probability to exist in these parts. For it is constantly to be remembered that the Jamestown colonists were not mere settlers; they were employees of a great joint stock mercantile company; their business was to establish and defend themselves in order to live; but afterwards, to explore and make maps of their explorations, and to develop the resources of their new possessions for the benefit of the company and incidentally of themselves. In

return the company was to supply them with the necessaries of life until they were able to provide for themselves. It is only by keeping this view of the situation constantly before us that we are able to understand certain aspects of it which every now and then come to the front; in particular, the conflict of opinions among those who, like Wingfield, Gosnold, Smith and others, were stockholders as well as colonists, and consequently, not unreasonably, believed themselves entitled to a voice in the disposal of their money interests; and the peculiar authority exercised by the disinterested Newport, who was, we are distinctly told by Master Archer, perhaps with some acrimony, merely "hired for their transportation."

On his return voyage, Newport carried home to London a rough chart of the river, drawn from materials accumulated on this trip of discovery, and a "Relation" of the daily happenings, probably taken from the journal of this Master Recorder Gabriel Archer, whose name is still perpetuated by "Archer's Hope;" where, rather than at Jamestown, he had favored the establishment of the colony. This map has perished, with many more documents equally priceless. A more elaborate chart was drawn in the next year by Robert Tindall, formerly gunner to Prince Henry;* and in 1612 was published in its first form, Smith's map of Virginia, which is still, with his writings, our only source of information as to the location and our best authority for the names of the Indian tribes in this vicinity.

*It is published in Brown's Genesis, Vol. i, No. xlvi.

They belonged, as we know, with one or two exceptions, to the Algonquin division of the red race, and formed a loose confederacy under the leadership of the Powhatans governed by their hereditary chief, Wahunsunakok, whose personal name was not known to the English until after his death. For it was considered unlucky to pronounce the name of a living person, and the red people were spoken of by their most intimate friends and relations only under pet names and sobriquets. Thus Pocahontas, of whom we shall hear more presently, and whose sobriquet means little wanton; her lawful name was Matoaca, but this was not made known to the settlers until it had been superseded by her baptismal name of Rebecca. One wonders whether in her own tribe the early death of the girl may not have been regarded as the consequence of this revelation.*

Wahunsunakok, an elderly despot of unusual intelligence and force of character, had increased during his long life both the extent and the weight of his authority until now he was feared and perhaps hated by every tributary werowance along the shores of Chesapeake Bay, over most of which territory his dominion extended. At the head of the bay there were, it is true, the Susquehannocks, a gigantic tribe of Indians belonging to the Iroquois division of the

*It is curious to find a sort of survival of what may have been a kindred superstition among the Hebrews, both of ancient times and our own; for the Rabbinical Jews of the present time have usually two names, in the very fashion of Simon Peter and John Mark, one for use among the Gentiles, the other kept holy for the lips of the faithful among the children of Abraham.

race, and sworn enemies to the Powhatan and all his house; and upon Cape Henry were the Chesapeakes, newcomers to the region, and as yet unsubdued, the successors of a tribe whom Powhatan had recently exterminated; it is said, in consequence of an ancient prophecy which he considered adverse to himself and his dynasty. The precise historical value of the ancient traditions which have been preserved for us by our oldest chroniclers it is impossible to determine; but Strachey, who came to Virginia in 1612, records for us how it had been revealed to the Powhatan through his "priests" or medicine men, that a nation should arise from the Chesapeake Bay, which should dissolve and give end to his empire. In consequence of this he had annihilated the residents of that locality, and for the same reason, we are told, the Chesapeake Indians were quick to resent the landing of Newport and his party on Cape Henry.

But the story has rather the air of an oracle invented after the event, and Powhatan himself, not to speak of his brother, the yet more astute Opechancanough, was quite clever enough to do this in a much shorter space of time than five years. Even if an actual augury derived from an acquaintance with the previous Spanish attempts at settlement in that locality, one scarcely sees how it can have affected the Chesapeake tribe, who would rather have welcomed the foes of their foe.

Another tradition which has been charmingly used by Miss Mary Johnston, has it that Opechancanough was only a Powhatan by adoption and not by birth; that he had made his way to Virginia from the far

Southwest, across the mountains (Mexico), and that he had a hereditary and personal hatred for the white man, which remained unsatisfied even by the massacre of 1622. With this, the current belief among the English, that he was the elder brother of Powhatan, accords fairly well; but succession to the chieftainship was by no means strictly hereditary, so far as we are able to discover; and the military genius of Wahunsunakok would have been far more likely to win the suffrages of the tribe than the more statesmanlike qualities of Opechancanough, even though the latter may have been the earlier born.

But elder or younger, the Powhatan had been for many years seated at Werowocomico, or the town of the chieftain, on York River, on *Pamaunk fluvius*, as we find it on Smith's map. Here he reigned in state, with a body guard of fifty tall savages to enforce his authority, and hence he sent forth his tax collectors, who gathered in from every werowance eighty per cent. of all that each country afforded. He knew neither pity nor compassion to those who offended him; and there is little wonder that a faithful report of these things being sent home to King James, he, with his theories of divine right, should have regarded the septuagenarian war chief as a man and a brother, and have demanded his immediate coronation. But it would have been far more interesting to hear the comments of the Powhatan on the peculiarities of gentle King Jamie, if these could have been made clear to his barbarian intellect.

But we have all this while left Newport in his shal-

lop with his explorers, consisting of five "gentlemen," including Captains Smith, Archer and Percy; four skilled mariners, and fourteen sailors. By this selection not only were the colonists left to dig and fortify, but the authority of the voyage of exploration was indisputably centred in the hands of Newport. They began their journey about noon of the 21st, and by nightfall had reached a point about twenty miles up the river, where was situated the chief seat of the Wyanokes, a village which Smith calls Weanock, representing thus what was probably the proper pronunciation, allowing for English inability to manage the Indian gutturals. The site of this village, including about one thousand acres, with a still larger tract of land belonging to the same tribe on the other side of the river, and by them called Tanx-or Little Wyanoke, was granted in 1619 to Sir George Yeardley, who gave to the former site of the Indian town the name Fleur-de-Dieu,* possibly from the passion flower, which, though a native of the West Indies, is still found growing wild in Virginia. At all events, the title, as that of one of Virginia's first electoral divisions, was speedily corrupted into Flower de Hundred, which it still retains.

The king of Wyanoke† was at odds with the king of Paspahegh, in whose territories Jamestown was sit-

*Smith states that the passion flower, the fruit of which was called "maracock," was sown amid the corn, with beans and pumpkins, but in Beverley's time (1722) it was no longer cultivated, either because it was less used or because the spontaneous growth was found to be sufficient.

†This Indian word means "ash-tree."

uated; this the natives there demonstrated by the exhibition of recent wounds, and entertained the voyagers with dances and much rejoicing, as though regarding them as powerful allies against a common enemy. Here, therefore, they anchored, and remained all night, proceeding the next day about sixteen miles further, to what they called Turkey Island. It was, however, probably a peninsula, now known as Presque Isle, or Turkey Island Bend. A subsequent owner of Turkey Island Plantation was William Randolph, among whose descendants are numbered William Stith, the historian, John Randolph of Roanoke, Thomas Jefferson, John Marshall and Robert E. Lee. Its name was derived from the abundance of wild turkeys, upon which our voyagers, so long sea-tossed, were very glad to feast and make merry, but not to the neglect of their main object. For, spying eight savages in a boat, they hailed them with the greeting of peace which they had learned overnight perhaps, "Wingapoh!" And in the resulting conference one of these eight confiding savages, apparently understanding the meaning of the expedition, began to trace with his naked foot in the sand the course of the river. Then Master Recorder furnished him with pen and paper, explaining their use, whereupon he cleverly sketched a rude chart, from the bay as far as the river was navigable, and beyond to the falls, and yet further to the mountains, which he called Quirank; "beyond which by his relation," says Master Recorder, "is that which we expected," namely, the South Sea.

Full of hope and exultation, therefore, they proceeded up the river, met everywhere by the Indians in the most friendly fashion. On his side, Newport seems to have acted with excellent wisdom, impressing upon the savages the irresistible power and might of the English, but avoiding all occasions of offence. At Arahatec or Arrohatec (a name still borne by a farm in the vicinity), just above Dutch Gap Canal, as they sat feasting with the werowance, word was brought of the sudden arrival of the Powhatan. "At whose presence they all rose off their mats (save the King Arahatec), separating themselves apart in fashion of a guard, and with a long shout they saluted him. Him we saluted with silence, sitting still on our mats, our captain in the midst, but presented, as before we did to King Arahatec, gifts of divers sorts, as penny knives, shears, bells, beads, glass toys, etc., more amply than before. Now this king appointed five men to guide us up the river, and sent posts before to provide us with victual."

Among these guides was the "faithful fellow," or "kind consort," as Captain Archer, whose pleasure was to find quaint names for men and places, alternately terms him; and the word having been passed among these simple savages that the owners of fire-sticks and bestowers of fire-water were for the present too potent to be meddled with, and were rather to be relieved of their toys and glass beads through the medium of barter—both sides of the river were dotted with clusters of Indians bearing gifts like the Danaians. Their proffered venison, hominy, corn-cakes and

strawberries the English graciously accepted by the advice of the five guides, and requited with the trifles they had laid in for the purpose. Thus they rowed ten miles in such pleasure and joy of their kind entertainment and such comfort of their happy and hopeful discovery (the gold-bearing mountains and the South Sea being, as they were assured, so close at hand), that it seemed to them scarce five, and so arrived over against the habitation of King Powhatan. Master Recorder calls it Powhatan's Tower; but it consisted of about a dozen communal houses seated upon a hill beside the river and surrounded by roughly cleared fields, "whereon he sows his wheat (maize), beans, peas, tobacco, pompions (pumpkins), gourds, hemp, flax, etc." This village of Powhatan was purchased about a year later by Smith and called "Nonsuch." It was located at about the present situation of Richmond; the old name is still retained by an estate in the neighborhood, long the home of the Mayo family.

The werowance of "Powhatan's Tower" was a son of the old chief, known as Tanx-Powhatan; but the aged sinner was there in person on this occasion to make sure the English were properly handled; "a terrible old chief," says a recent writer, "over seventy years old. He bore his years well; was tall in stature and powerfully framed. His thin gray hair floated over his broad shoulders, and his countenance was furrowed and melancholy. He had a round face and some few hairs upon his chin and upper lip."*

* "The Cradle of the Republic," by Lyon G. Tyler, pages 13 and 14. To this work the present chapter is much indebted.

To the presence of this potentate Newport and his party were conducted up the hill; they found with him King Arahatec and another person whose position they could not determine, though he was evidently of importance, as he sat beside the two kings, an honor granted to no one else. They were assured that he was no werowance, and it is quite probable that he was the chief conjurer or medicine man, either of the tribe or of that district. The religion of these barbarians was perhaps as mysterious to the English as theirs to Powhatan; but it is remarkable to note, especially in Smith's own writings, the keenness with which they observed and recorded facts, which the ethnological investigations of later years now enable the historian to classify and account for.

The English were by this time able to make themselves fairly well understood by their "kind consort," who had spared no pains, says Master Recorder, to learn their language and to teach them his own; therefore, with him for their interpreter, the discourse or grand pow-wow, which followed the feast now spread before them by the Powhatan, was full of interest. The aged chief explained to them the extent of his dominions, and his warlike relations with the Chesapeakes on the one hand, and the Monacans, who were seated just beyond the falls, on the other. At Manakin, their chief town, a Huguenot colony was established in Nicholson's administration. After some parley a league of friendship was made and cemented by a gift to Newport of the royal mantle, which was probably of raccoon skins, as that fur seems to have

been the most highly prized peltry of the Virginia Indians.

As evening approached the discoverers re-embarked and that night traveled as far as the falls, beyond which there was, as they found, no thoroughfare for boats; therefore, "between content and grief," they left the place for the night, determining to proceed by land the next day. But Powhatan seems to have been averse to their further exploration; perhaps, because he feared lest, meeting the Monacans, they should make a league with them and so overwhelm him and his people. At all events, he dined with them upon boiled pork and beans the next day, which was Whit Sunday; and his discourse was so plainly adverse to their project of proceeding afoot that Newport abandoned it, much to the disgust of Captain Smith, but, as it seems to the modern historian as well as to Master Recorder, with excellent judgment. For there was to be considered not only the danger of invading the Monacan country in the character of friends and allies of the Powhatans, but the peril to those at the fort who were left exposed to the enmity of the red "emperor," in case the explorers so acted as to displease that wily old chief.

Moved by these considerations they "trifled away a day," in erecting on an islet at the falls a cross bearing the name of "Jacobus Rex," with the date of the year and Newport's own name below as the discoverer. This was the second cross erected in Virginia, the first having been on Cape Henry; but on this occasion their *feu de joie* of musketry and their resounding English

hurrahs so awakened the suspicion of their kind consort that Newport was forced to invent an explanation. The two arms of the cross, said this ingenious symbolist, represented Powhatan and himself, their meeting point stood for the just-made league, and the hurrahs were homage to the Powhatan war chief. With all which, and especially the shouting, Naviraus was not a little delighted; but he took care with true Indian cunning to call for an encore, when next they encountered the king; whereupon Newport and his company gave with a vim three cheers for Powhatan, to the satisfaction of all present.

As they drew near to Jamestown on their return voyage the moral atmosphere became less balmy; first, the awe which the voyagers inspired beginning to wear off, some of the bolder spirits indulged themselves in a little harmless purloining. Upon Newport's complaints everything was at once restored; Fiske thinks with much reason because powder and bullets were looked upon as "bad medicine." No doubt they were, but that theory does not apply to the glass beads and toys which were also stolen, and which Newport permitted them to retain; so that it seems as though a desire to keep on good terms with these strange people until they should hear how the Paspaheghs had succeeded in a certain enterprise then on the tapis may have been an equally potent factor. King Arahatec sent them supplies when they reached "Arahatec's Joy," but was himself unable to sup with them, having partaken too freely on the day before of English fire-water; but the next morning the gentle

savage's health being again restored they all made merry in brotherly fashion, and the visitors were treated to an exhibition of many customs of the country. At Appomattox, afterwards Bermuda Hundred, they found a female werowance or queen, "a fat, lusty, manly woman," extensively bedecked with copper; leaving whom, they were next introduced into the presence of "King Pamunkey," or Opechancanough, who was at that time at a village about five miles from "the queen's bower," as Master Recorder poetically terms their last-mentioned stopping place.

The guileful Opechancanough impressed him otherwise surely than as he intended; for "this king so set his countenance striving to be stately, as to our seeming he became fool."

He was not, perhaps, quite so great a fool as he looked, for he seems to have attempted to separate Newport from his companions; "but seeing our intention was to accompany our captain, he altered his purpose and waved us in kindness to our boat."

By the time the party reached Wyanoke the cloudiness of the moral atmosphere became unmistakable; Naviraus on some pretext declined to accompany them further, and the sullenness of the Indians of that neighborhood gave point and meaning to his defection. But, though Newport felt anxious, he was also reluctant to leave his exploration unfinished on account of what might prove an unfounded alarm; and he, therefore, proposed to visit the Paspaheghs and Tappahannocks before returning. But a sudden change of wind was so favorable for the home voyage that he was induced

to alter what would assuredly have been a most unfortunate determination.

Wafted by this providential breeze they returned, therefore, with all speed to the fort, where they discovered a state of affairs by no means all that might have been desired.

CHAPTER XI.

How They at the Fort Ate of the King of Paspahegh's Venison—with Sauce!

One cannot but feel a strong sympathy with Wingfield, who was set to control a set of stronger spirits than his own; rude, unruly men, most of them, from whom he demanded the respect and submission to which he felt that his position at home and his rank in the colony entitled him, but which he had not the dignity or force of character to command. Always conscious, therefore, of an undercurrent of criticism and insubordination, of the limits of which he had not sufficient knowledge of men to be sure, he was predisposed to suspect organized rebellion and perhaps to create it, not only by these suspicions themselves, but by the absence of that firm touch, that feeling of the master's hand upon the reins of government, the lack of which always predisposes a spirited team to bolt.

The upper or Northwestern portion of Jamestown Island, as it now is, had been selected for the planting of the settlement; there is now a stream of water fully three-quarters of a mile wide, where then between Powhatan creek and the back river intervened a narrow isthmus. The island is said to have lost about fifty acres of ground in this portion, but is otherwise prob-

ably little changed in its natural features; and its verdure and fertility still seem to promise both plenty and security. The settlers, with so many tasks to choose from, had, as we know, merely cast together a few branches of the trees which they had cleared from their prospective fields as a rude barricade, to the very edge of which the rank wild grass, mingled with scrub oak and sassafras,* grew high as a man's shoulders. The Indians, since the departure of the party of discovery, had for the most part refrained from visiting them either to help or hinder; occasionally a solitary red man would stalk solemnly out from the shelter of the forest, would grunt out a sulky salutation and, being looked upon as harmless, would be allowed to go whither he would, Wingfield's suspicions not extending to the numbers of sharp eyes, which were most likely watching him and his party night and day from the convenient shelter of the undergrowth. The king of Paspahegh, either just before or just after the departure of the exploring party, had sent them a deer, but, as Master George Percy grimly remarks, the sauce came later.

For they had cleared the rising ground near the fort, which from its character or situation they considered most advantageous for their planting, and were there (May 26th) engaged in sowing the English wheat brought over by the ships, when the wild startling Indian war-whoop resounded suddenly from

*"Our easiest and richest commodity being sassafrix roots." Letter of the Council in Virginia to the Council in England. Brown's Genesis; vol. i, No. xix.

the woods, and scores of dark, naked forms leaped through the long weeds towards the fort, hoping to carry it by surprise. The English were entirely unprepared and undrilled in military exercises; even their muskets were packed away in the cases used for transporting them from England; but fortunately the "gentlemen" of the colony went always armed with pistols and small swords, and while the planters of corn made the best of their way behind the fortifications, these, headed by the Council and Wingfield in person, threw themselves between the fort and the attackers. But as the red men were at the least two hundred in number, there was but a spare chance of life for any of the party had not the ships' ordnance come to the rescue. The channel of the river ran close to the bank and the ships were actually moored to the branches of the trees; these, therefore, promptly joined in the affray "with saker and culverin;" eleven of the English were wounded, and on the ships a boy killed; the hurt included four of the Council; and Wingfield, who had fought like a very gallant gentleman and a veteran of the Netherland wars, had an arrow through his beard, but escaped without a scratch. After a skirmish of about an hour a shot from one of the ships, bringing down the branch of a tree in the midst of the savages, induced a panic and retreat.

The whistle of an arrow so near his face was a potent argument, and Wingfield offered no further opposition to fortifying their position. By June 15th the fort was built, triangle wise, with at each angle a

bulwark shaped like a crescent, whereon were mounted several pieces of artillery. It was surrounded by a strong palisade; within it ran a street, on either side of which the dwelling houses or barracks were to be erected. For the time they dwelt in tents like the Israelites in the wilderness; tents, moreover, pretty thoroughly riddled by Indian arrows. The grain they had sown was by this time six feet high; and as their stock of food was even nominally only sufficient for fourteen weeks, Newport felt that he could best help them by returning to England, whither also he was summoned by his duty to the directors of the company. But it was probably with a heavy heart that he gave orders to depart; for he could not hope to return in less than five months' time, and the Indians' hostile position was witnessed by the loss almost daily of one or more of the English, who were picked off by arrows as they went about their labors outside the fort.

It seems strange that old campaigners like Smith and Wingfield, with Archer, and others who had seen Indian warfare in New England and New Spain, should not have thought of cutting down the long grass and "Jamestown weed," with other undergrowth around the fort; but it does not seem to have occurred to them before June 14th, when there arrived two Indians with a message of peace from the wily Opechancanough. A superstitious fear of the newcomers was, it seems, for the moment even stronger than hatred; and the messengers were therefore charged to disavow the King of Paspahegh and all his works in very civilized fashion. Their attackers, said

the red ambassadors, one of whom was the "kind consort," Naviraus, were the enemies of the King of Pamunkey, as well as of the English; some of them indeed had been Chesapeakes. And moreover it would be as well if the settlers would cut their grass. Smith and Newport, at least, were wise enough to let the strength of their fortifications impress the savage mind, so that a good report of the same might go to their chief; and the wisdom and timeliness of the advice to destroy the convenient undergrowth are unquestionable. Smith had before this been admitted to the Council; and now before he finally gave orders to depart, Newport seems to have questioned Wingfield "how he felt himself settled in the government; whose answer was, that no disturbance could endanger him or the colony, but it must be wrought either by Captain Gosnold or Master Archer; for the one was strong with friends and followers and could if he would; and the other was troubled with an ambitious spirit and would if he could."

It would seem, therefore, as though the president's fear of Captain Smith had been for the present appeased by the disclosures of the trial just ended; and that his "jealousy," as one of the colonists terms it, had centred upon Archer, and even included Gosnold. Newport thereupon proceeded to labor earnestly with each; "and moved them with many entreaties to be mindful of their duties to his majesty and the colony;" after which came the communion, and Newport's season of rest from strife and contention upon the troubled waves of the stormy Atlantic.

The one hundred and five persons left at Jamestown now found themselves in for rather a hard time. Their food had, as we know, been consumed out of all proportion by their long stay off the coast of England, and the roundabout course of the voyage to America; these stores, moreover, had included besides wheat and barley, little else but oil, vinegar, and liquors of various descriptions. And this was now so nearly consumed that one man's rations for an entire day was simply a small can of barley, and another of wheat, made into porridge. While the ships remained in the harbor they had been able to improve this diet by trading with the sailors, for ship-biscuit against the commodities of the land, skins, pearls, etc., which the seamen were not so easily able to obtain; but now even that expedient was at an end. It is true that they were in Virginia in the height of summer, and that woods and river were full of things to eat; but, as Smith tersely remarks on this point: "Though there be fish in the sea, fowls in the air, and beasts in the woods, their bounds are so large, they so wild, and we so ignorant, that we cannot much trouble them." And indeed the recent attack on the fort had given a wholesome warning against an extended hunting excursion, the chance of suddenly finding oneself game instead of hunter being one not to be desired; while the sound of axe and hammer had by this time driven from their own little peninsula everything living but themselves and the song birds, and perhaps a few rabbits or squirrels. Fish there were in plenty, and on sturgeon in particular they had feasted to repletion while the

fine weather lasted; but there seems at just this time to have occurred a very untimely and unwelcome season of storm, so that their scanty breakfast of porridge became their only diet.

Their houses, also, were scarcely half built, and under these circumstances, in that malarial situation, agues and malarial and typhoid fever were the natural consequences. Almost every day witnessed a death from one of these causes; Gosnold was dead, the president, Martin, and Ratcliffe were down with the fever, and Kendal, for reasons which remain a mystery, was deposed from the Council. The whole weight of authority, therefore, fell upon Smith, who, himself newly recovered from fever, was obliged to act as Cape Merchant,* and also to superintend the building of houses for the company; "who, notwithstanding our misery, little ceased their grudging, malice and muttering."

Rather, one would say, the company would have been more than human had they not grumbled under such trying circumstances; but it is very probable that Smith, though he keenly felt the unmerited disgrace which in his own opinion at least, and perhaps in that of some others, still clung to him, despite the acquittal of the Council—it is very probable that the gallant captain never was happier in his life. His only grudge seems to have been against Wingfield, whom he regarded as the sole author of the calumnies against his loyalty; hence when the stores of wine and brandy seemed to give out with suspicious suddenness, Smith

*From the Italian *capo mercante*, chief merchant.

concluded at once that they were reserved for the private consumption of the president and his friends. It is certain, from Wingfield's own statement, that he kept the supply of stimulants in his own hands; but his version of the matter is, that the stock having been reduced to two gallons each of sack and aquavitee, he reserved the first for the communion table* and the latter for use in emergencies. This was done with the knowledge and approval of Gosnold, but the death of this person left Wingfield alone in this and other matters; so that he says with some pathos, "in his sickness time, the president did easily foretell his own deposing from his command; so much differed the president and the other councillors in managing the government of the colony."

Neither side seems to have been able to believe in the honesty of purpose of the other; though when Smith and the rest of the Council were informed after Gosnold's death of the existence of the remnant of stimulants "and other preservatives of our health," they may have argued not unfairly that the emergency for which these were reserved was even then upon the colony, with forty dead between the end of June and the last of August, and "so much sickness that there were scarcely five men able to go abroad."

But, says Wingfield, "Lord, how they then longed to sup up that little remnant! for they had now emptied all their own bottles, and all that they could smell out."

*As the communion was celebrated only once in three months, two gallons was certainly an ample supply, pending Newport's return.

This specimen must suffice; there was also a mighty pother about two glass bottles full of salad oil, which belonged to the private store of the president, and which he had wisely had buried in the ground, lest they should spoil from the intense heat. Likewise an over-confiding squirrel was presented to the poor man in his sickness, and by him was shared with Captain Ratcliffe, also an invalid, to the great offence of hungrier neighbors, who may have smelt the savory meat as it was preparing. Doubtless it would have been better policy had Wingfield made a point of faring like the rest from the common kettle; but aristocrat as he was to the fingertips, this probably did not even occur to him; his meals might be as frugal as theirs, but they must be "sodd" in his own private porridge-pot, over his exclusive fire; and there were doubtless others besides Smith with whom he admitted in America an apparent equality for the sake of the cause in which they were engaged; but whose company, in England, he would think scorn his servant should be of.*

It is little wonder such a man should be unpopular, but these childish quarrels became tedious; we can only excuse them by remembering the enormous importance, to men sick and starving, of even "two glasses of sallet oyle."

About the 10th of September Wingfield was deposed from the presidency; and, as frequently happens in such cases, things began about the same time to mend, of their own accord, for which Ratcliffe, the new president, for a while got all the credit.

*Wingfield, "Discourse of Virginia," Smith's Works, p. lxxx.

The Indians, whose corn was now in condition to be eaten, though Smith considered it only half ripe, began to bring it to the fort for the trade of the settlers, which was to them so attractive. "Our best commodity," says Smith, "was iron, of which we made little chisels," and the exchange of these for young roasting ears, and cakes of Indian meal, was equally grateful to both parties. "Fowles" now came into the river in great abundance; with this addition to their scanty diet, many of the sick began to mend; there was not, however, above twenty days' rations of grain remaining and well aware that they could not trust to the caprice of their Indian visitors for the food of so many, it was resolved to send Smith to Hampton, or Kecoughtan, to obtain supplies.

The Kicoughtan Indians considered this embassy an acknowledgment of weakness; and on his first arrival carelessly offered morsels of meat or bread, or a handful of grain, in exchange for copper or toys, as though to starving men; but Smith carried off the matter with so lordly an air that by the next morning they were as ready to trade as he himself; he and his party had their fill of fish, oysters, bread and venison, and he could have freighted a ship with corn if he had had one; he took from this point and another further up the river, nearly thirty bushels back to famine-struck Jamestown.

But the winter was close at hand and there was pressing need for very much more food than this; therefore Ratcliffe and Martin now being able to take a share in the government, and tolerable houses having

been prepared, it was resolved after much discussion to send the pinnace and barge to Powhatan to trade for corn. The headless state of the colony is strikingly visible in the fact that lots were cast for the command of the expedition; but Providence guiding the matter, the lot fell to John Smith, who while the boats were being made ready made a trading voyage to the Toppahannock country. Finding no one in the village but a few women and children who fled at his approach—"truck they durst not, corn they had plenty and to spoil I had no commission"—he was returning empty handed; but touching at the Weraskoyack village he was able to obtain ten bushels.

These Weraskoyacks were seated in the County of Isle of Wight, with their chief town on Pagan River, near the present town of Smithfield; they had not been known to the English before this voyage, but seemed now disposed to be friendly. Captain Martin afterwards made two voyages to their country, returning each time with eight or ten bushels of corn.

But the Paspaheghs continued evidently hostile; dogging the voyagers' course along the banks of the river, and in every way showing themselves in such a dangerous mood that Smith considered it best to return at once to the fort.

The pinnace now being ready, he embarked in her five mariners and two landsmen; he himself, with eight men being in the barge, in which he could more readily explore the smaller streams and treat with the Indians for provisions. He set forth on November

9th, leaving the pinnace to follow the next morning when the tide should serve, and to await his coming at Point Wyanoke. His intention was to "discover" the Chickahominy River and its neighborhood. Proceeding that night as far as Sandy Point, he there met with a warrior of the "Chickahamanians," a tribe of about three hundred fighting men, paying tribute to the Powhatan, but not receiving a chief of his appointment, being governed by their priests and old men.

Under the guidance of this warrior Smith visited several Indian towns and collected a good store of corn, wisely trading for only a small portion at each place lest the Indians should suspect the straits of the settlers. On his return down the river he was surprised not to find the pinnace where he expected her; but on reaching the fort he discovered that she had run aground on an unexpected sandbar. After unloading the corn he had bought, he set forth the next day, and found the people so ready to trade that they would make him a present of the food they had bought rather than take it back again. Hearing the muskets of the English re-echo from the woods on either side, and seeing the birds and animals fall at their fire, impressed these untutored minds in a most wholesome manner; so that after only a short absence Smith returned once more with again as much corn as his barge could carry; in all he had now purveyed for the fort about fourteen or sixteen hogsheads. Yet once again he visited the Chickahominy, but found their plenty of corn decreased, yet was able to load his boat; but in the meantime an accident had led to the

discovery of a conspiracy, an inquiry into which—though its particulars remain a mystery to the present time—will afford us an occasion to set forth, more minutely than we have as yet found opportunity, some of the chief causes of the disunion that prevailed in this disunited colony.

CHAPTER XII.

How the Settlers Found Treason in Their Own Midst; and What Happened Thereafter.

In order to understand thoroughly the position of the Jamestown settlers in regard to this conspiracy, it will be necessary to return for a few moments to England, and to the time just previous to the planting of this colony. Peace with Spain was concluded, as we know, in 1604, a peace which should rather be termed a cessation of open warfare, the better to bring to bear the arts of treachery, bribery and corruption. At this sort of thing, which was at that time far more than at present a recognized portion of diplomacy, Spain was much more skilful than her great rival, and the Spanish ambassador, Don Pedro de Zuñiga, Marques de Villa Flores et Avila, could have given lessons to Machiavelli himself. Yet his predecessor in the embassy could not have been a novice at the art; for when Zuñiga landed at Dover, in the autumn of 1605, he is said to have found in that country seven chief pensioners of Spain, besides, undoubtedly, a multitude of lesser spies and traitors. The names of the distinguished seven are as follows: Henry Howard, Earl of Northampton, Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire, Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset, the Lady Suffolke, Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, Sir

William Monson and Mrs. Drummond, first lady of the bed-chamber to the queen.*

In 1890 Mr. Alexander Brown, of Virginia, published in his "Genesis of the United States" a long series of letters between Philip III. and his ambassadors Zuñiga and Gondomar, relating to American affairs at this period; the correspondence is still preserved in the Spanish archives of Madrid and Simancas, and was translated into any language for the first time by Mr. Brown, who thus rendered to American history a service which is, indeed, incalculable.

It is clear from these letters that the court of Madrid was in a decidedly hostile attitude from the first towards any attempt of the English to colonize America; not merely because these newly discovered lands were considered as the exclusive property of His Majesty of Spain, but because any colony in that quarter was likely, in Spanish opinion, to become a nest of pirates: *i. e.*, privateers, whose power to injure Spanish commerce had been written by Drake upon their memories in letters of blood and fire. The imperative need to obviate this peril by wiping out the infant colony is indicated in no obscure terms by both ambassador and sovereign; fortunately for America, Spain was in no condition to invite a renewal of hostilities, and it was also hoped that the colony in Southern Virginia, like so many previous English attempts, might perish of hardship or at the hands of the savages. Meanwhile the resources of diplomacy were not neglected; and in September, 1607, Zuñiga

*Brown's Genesis, Vol. II., "Brief Biographies," article "Zuñiga."

writes that he has secured a "confidential person," *i. e.*, a spy, in the London Council itself. Who this person was must remain a mystery, but that the ambassador received intelligence from this or other sources is certain. In September, 1608, he sends Philip a report from a person who had been in Virginia, and charts of the James River region and of St. George's Fort, which had been built and abandoned by the Popham colony. Later, several Spanish spies made their way into Virginia; one of them, an Irishman, named Francisco Maguel (Brown suggests Francis Maguire as his probable title), was resident there for eight months, and his report, given in Volume I., page 393, is fairly accurate in its description of the place and the people.*

And all this while the representative of Spain in England is urging massacre, recommending immediate action before the English should become strong enough to defend themselves.

It would be thus quite in keeping with Zuñiga's character if he, indeed, before the departure of the colonists from London, secured the services of some one among them able to keep him in touch with transatlantic proceedings; and it is a possibility that such a person was Captain Kendall, who was so zealous to build the fort, and whose diligence gave Wingfield cause for suspicion which seems after all not so wholly unwarranted. But no details of the affair are given in any of the records; if any report of

*He seems later to have given information on the other side. See Brown, "Brief Biographies," art. "Maguel."

the trial was sent to the London Council it has perished, like so many other priceless documents.

The facts are as follows, so far as we have knowledge of them. Wingfield had been deposed on the 10th of September; and, shortly after, Ratcliffe, the new president, having occasion to "chide" James Read, the blacksmith (Wingfield says that Ratcliffe beat him and that it was a common thing for the Council to beat, even to the point of serious injury, the rank and file of the settlers), the smith offered to return the compliment with some of his tools; whereupon, the president being the king's representative, he was condemned to be hanged for high treason. But as he was mounting the scaffold he offered, if his life might be spared, to reveal a dangerous conspiracy; in consequence of which revelation Captain Kendall was shot. The brevity of this record and the secrecy involving all the proceedings render it remarkable. Wingfield was at the time a prisoner on a pinnace, where he was, no doubt, particularly uncomfortable.

Wingfield's own Apologia, which he laid before the London Council after his return to England, is our best authority for the charges against him. With those frivolous ones which accuse him of deliberately starving the colony while he and his friends lived in luxury we have dealt already; it remains only to be mentioned in this regard, that while he considered Smith to be the chief fomenter of discontent against him, he does not omit to record that the latter "had told the Council they were frivolous objections they

MAP OF VIRGINIA

had gathered against me, and that they had not done well to depose me."

It is probable that a man of Smith's intelligence did make some such protest, though he may have been thoroughly satisfied that Wingfield was unequal to the situation, and may have told him so to his face, with an incisiveness which Wingfield found it hard to forgive. But, however Smith forbears to accuse Wingfield, it is from the document prepared by his subordinates, R. Phettiplace and Anas Todkill, that we learn how, during Smith's absence in the Chickahominy region, trading for corn, a plot was hatched between Wingfield and Kendall to escape in the pinnace to England, and that it was for this, which the two soldiers justly considered mutiny, that Kendall was shot.* But Todkill and Phettiplace, not being members of the Council, were probably not fully acquainted with the matter; and Wingfield himself tells us that he was accused of conspiring with the Spaniards, and that his papers were searched for evidence of treason. This was not forthcoming, but the most probable explanation of the Kendall mutiny is that Kendall, being a paid Spanish agent, had tired of the hardship and the constant danger of discovery; and that he had so worked upon Wingfield's discontent and indignation as nearly to have persuaded him to escape for England in the pinnace, where he seems to have still maintained his state and authority as president, by way of protest against the illegality of his deposition.

* "For he was obliged to turn the cannon of the fort against them, and so force them to stay or sink in the river; which action cost the life of Captain Kendall." Stith, p. 50 (1865).

The pinnace was leaky, but would have carried them most probably as far as the West India Islands; further than which, if indeed a Spanish spy, Kendall had certainly no intention of going. Of this man's birth and education we know nothing positively; Mr. Alexander Brown thinks he may have been a cousin of Sir Edwin Sandys. The particulars of the mutiny were apparently kept quiet, for fear of the effect on the settlers, who were always on the ragged edge of abandoning the colony; a conclusion which appeared to Wingfield so inevitable and, since his own deposition, so desirable, that he had offered one hundred pounds towards defraying the expenses of the return to England.

That Wingfield was by inheritance and education a Romanist, we have already seen; he tells us that he was accused of atheism because he had no Bible. But there was no Bible except the Vulgate which he could have been reasonably expected to own, if he were still a Roman Catholic; for though a translation of the New Testament had been made at Rheims in 1582, under Roman authority, that version of the Old Testament which with it makes up what we still call the Douay Bible was not completed until 1609. In England the authorized version was "the Bishops' Bible," set forth during the reign of Elizabeth; but the Bible used by the colonists was in all probability that called the Geneva Bible from the city where it was translated, and the "Breeches Bible" from its use of that word instead of "coats of skins" in Gen. iii, 21, black-bound, and small enough to be conveniently carried. These Bibles became very popular in

England during the reigns of Elizabeth and James: when we remember that one of them was the "black book" for whose safety the White Lady of Avenel was so solicitous, we feel at once a thrill of intimate acquaintanceship.

The prayer-book of the infant colony was of a certainty that of 1557, set forth for the purpose of ensuring uniformity of worship; as it did not contain the psalter, but only a table for reading it day by day, it became necessary to find the psalms for responsive reading in the Bible. Morning and evening prayer were said according to the rubric every day; the church was at first merely "an awning, which is an old sail hung to three or four trees"; the walls were rails of wood, the seats unhewed trees; the pulpit was a bar of wood nailed to two conveniently situated tree-trunks. Here also two sermons were preached on Sunday; but with all this maximum of worship and minimum of comfort we hear of no one who held the office of clerk.

The duty of leading the responses would, therefore, fall upon the Council; and thus Wingfield's lack of a Bible would become conspicuous. And it was most unlikely to be readily condoned; for these services of the Church of England were, as we have seen, not so much for the satisfaction of the spiritual nature as they were acts of homage at once to the Divine Sovereign of the Universe, and to the Sovereign by Divine right of England and her dependencies; they were certificates of patriotism as well as of religion, and a standing protest against the Brownists or

Independents on the one hand, and the Romanists on the other.

Wingfield, who had fought against Spain in the Netherlands, was present, therefore, as a patriot, and not as a Protestant; he may have been something of a free-thinker, as was Henri de Navarre; certainly he does not deny categorically the accusation of atheism. His defense is that he had duly provided himself with a Bible for the coming to Virginia, but that it with other books and "sweetmeats" had been stolen from his trunk before it left England. In regard to his having endeavored to prevent Master Hunt from preaching, he explains that this was only on one occasion, when the service had been delayed by a threatened attack of the Indians, and by the time the prayers were over the men were so weary, and the day so far advanced, that he thought the sermon could wait until another time. When we remember that sermons in those days endured for two or three mortal hours, we are inclined to consider Wingfield a merciful man; but his radical indifference to the whole matter could not be hidden even by his habit of diligently taking "noates" of Master Hunt's sermons, "writing out of his doctrine so far as my capacity could comprehend, unless some rainy day hindered my endeavor."

A curious paragraph in this defence of his conduct makes it certain that, although the names of the Council were, as has been told, kept secret, and though they, when advised of their appointment, were left at apparent liberty to choose their president, yet

Wingfield's office was not only decided upon but made known to him before the expedition sailed.

"If I may now at the last presume upon your favors, I am an honorable suitor that your own love of truth will vouchsafe to relieve me from all false aspersions since I embarked me into this affair in Virginia. For my first work, which was to make a right choice of a spiritual pastor, I appeal to the remembrance of my Lord of Canterbury,* his grace, who gave me very gracious audience in my request. And the world knoweth whom I took with me; truly, in my opinion, a man not to be in any way touched with the rebellious humors of a popish spirit, nor blemished with the least suspicion of a factious schismatic, whereof I had a special care. . . .

"I rejoice that my travels and dangers have done somewhat for the behoof of Jerusalem in Virginia. If it be objected as my oversight to put myself among such men, I can say for myself there were not any other for our consort; and I could not forsake the enterprise of opening so glorious a kingdom unto the king, wherein I shall ever be ready to bestow the poor remainder of my days, as in any other, his highness's designs, according to my bounden duty, with the utmost of my poor talent."

We fear the good man was right; his was but a poor talent; the quotation sets him forth more nearly as he was than any words of ours could do, haughty, narrow and loyal. And we have but to remember that no formal recantation was in those days demanded

*Richard Bancroft.

from an English Romanist, that he had but to conform to be considered a member in good standing of the English Church as by law established, to understand Wingfield's status fairly well. He was not the only man of his age who considered doctrine the affair of the clergy, while it was the part of a loyal Englishman to go to the king's church. And there he took "noates" of the Rev. Robert Hunt's doctrine, possibly for the edification of the authorities at home, who might thus be certified that there was nothing amiss. Truly such a man as this and such another as Captain John Smith were not made to understand each other; and they accordingly misunderstood one another religiously as well as politically to the end.*

*The Rev. Robert Hunt died before Smith's return to England, about October 4, 1609. Possibly the food expedients of the weeks following the destruction, by rats, of the stores were more than his health, already feeble, could endure.

CHAPTER XIII.

How Captain Smith, in the Discovery of the Chickahominy, Was Himself Discovered by the Chickahamanians.

The old chroniclers seem to be all of one mind that John Smith was now the only man in the colony who could make himself obeyed or had any degree of administrative ability. Authority was invested in three persons only, Ratcliffe, Smith and Martin; Master Archer had been solemnly appointed Recorder of Virginia, and according to Wingfield had also been admitted into the Council during one of Smith's voyages, and contrary to the articles on which they had agreed among themselves at the time of the deposition of Wingfield. Of these three Martin, though Smith calls him "very honest," was in feeble health, and moreover does not seem to have been a person of very much force of character; he is on record, however, as the only man in the colony who protested in 1610, after the starving time, against that abandonment of the enterprise which was only prevented by the arrival of Lord Delaware. Later, Captain Martin, then, despite his feeble health, the only survivor in Virginia of the original Council, patented the beautiful and famous estate of Brandon on the James, to which were attached manorial rights and privileges. These

rights, which were freely admitted to the manors of Maryland under Lord Baltimore's proprietory government, the Virginia House of Burgesses, in 1619, peremptorily refused to recognize; happily, Captain Martin, though at first inclined to stand out, on the plea of services rendered to the state, was finally induced to surrender his seigniorial claims, and "Martin's Brandon" was admitted to representation on the footing of any other "hundred."

Ratcliffe, whose name was originally Sicklemore, was, in the view of the historian Burk, a person of no capacity whatever,* and his appointment as president was due to a fear of what Smith might do if elected to that office. The Master Recorder's character has already in some degree been unveiled to us in his relation of the discovery of the river; he had vanity and ambition, a facile pen, and some wit; as recorder of the colony he was probably in the right place, but he was by no means fitted to govern men.

It was thus inevitable that Smith should be practically the ruler of Jamestown; and moreover, the strongest spirits among them were either his old followers or had been by this time won over to his side; it was therefore always in his absence that matters went wrong. But the more clearly this was perceived the more increased the jealousy of his colleagues, who seem, after the affair of Kendall had been satisfactorily disposed of, to have twitted Smith

*He seems to have been under some cloud in England as were many other "honest gentlemen"; but it is not quite fair to accuse him of going under a false name, as his usual signature was "Ratcliffe, commonly called Sicklemore."

with returning before he had completed the exploration of the Chickahominy, and to have implied that he had been afraid to stay longer. Perhaps he had perceived and reported the gathering clouds of hostility which were so soon to discharge themselves upon his devoted head; but if so, this would have been to the Council, as is evident from their conduct on his return, but an added reason for urging on the expedition. They had, of course, an excellent pretext ready, cut and dried; it was almost time to expect the return of Newport; and their report in the matter of home affairs was so full of disaster that they would be glad to balance it by some brilliant record of exploration. And why not a gold mine or two, or a passage to the Sea of Verrazano?

Under these circumstances Smith set forth, wondering, no doubt, what those left behind would manage to do to themselves during this time that he should be away. They were very tolerably provisioned with corn, "and the rivers became so covered with swans, geese, ducks and cranes, that we daily feasted with good bread, Virginia pease, pompions (pumpkins) and putchamins (persimmons); fish, fowl and diverse sorts of wild beasts as fat as we could eat them, so that none of our tuftaffety humorists desired to go for England,"* whither Ratcliffe and Archer had in the meantime endeavored to return, but had been prevented by Captain Smith. There is really little wonder that they desired to be rid of him.

He set forth in the barge on December 10th; a Vir-

*Smith's Works, p. 97.

ginia December, clear and bracing, with a sun overhead whose light and heat were still present in respectable quantities. The river, still open, afforded the viands of which we have just read; the dry, dead leaves lay thickly on the banks; the bare branches overhead were sharply outlined against a sky of clear and brilliant blue. Sometimes the passage of the barge was barred by fallen trunks or the thickly interlacing boughs. But our discoverer was this time resolved to proceed at all costs. There were hatchets in his party, though the American axe had not yet been invented; he cleared away the obstructions and pushed onward.

But now the river would not permit the passage of the barge; and Smith tells us distinctly that his further rather perilous course was determined by two things; first, the peculiarities of the river at that point, which fostered the hope that it might issue from some lake or broad ford; this, with the rumor of a chain of lakes which had reached the colonists, raised, no doubt, dazzling expectations; and there remained moreover, his second incentive, the taunts of those who on his return from his last journey had told him he durst not seek the head of the river.

He took all possible precautions for the success of his hazardous venture. The Indians had seemed so particularly friendly during this expedition that his suspicions, if his previous voyage had aroused any, were lulled to sleep; he left the barge in a sort of bay in the river, where she was beyond arrow shot from the shore, with stringent orders that no one of the

party should land until his return. But the lack of discipline at the fort had prevented the cultivation of any true sense of subordination; and even Captain Smith was obeyed only while he was present. He had scarcely left them, writes our chronicler, when the crew went ashore, where one of them, George Casson, having most likely strayed apart from the rest, was immediately captured by the savages. Possibly Opechancanough was there in person; he was certainly the mover of the affair.

Most historians consider this sudden hostility of the Indians an inexplicable mystery; there seems, say they, to be no cause for it. But Indian hostilities have rarely, in the nature of things, any cause at all, except their always present hatred to the whites. And it is more than probable that, with true Indian penetration into character, Opechancanough had learned long since that John Smith was the only man among these interlopers to be feared in his own person; while the continued absence of the ships raised the hope that they never would return, and that it might be possible—though as yet they dared not attack the fort—if this big chief were out of the way, to starve out the remnant. But, after all, there is small need for so elaborate an explanation; we need simply refer all that followed to the well-known unappeasable hatred of the Pamunkey chief for the palefaced foreigners, and to that canon of Indian warfare which imperatively commands the cutting off of stragglers.

Casson, having been forced to indicate the route taken by his captain, was incontinently put to death

with torture; the rest of the boat's crew succeeded in making their way back to the barge, and, after waiting we know not how long for Smith's return, carried the news of the too probable fate of himself and his companions back to Jamestown. Smith, however, was by no means slain; he had not passed safely through the perils of Asia, Europe and Africa, through war, famine and captivity, to perish by an Indian arrow or tomahawk. Hiring a canoe from the natives at Apocant, he had rowed on up the river, with two white men and two Indians, about twelve miles, when the stream, though retaining the same depth and breadth, became much more difficult to travel because of the trees. Here the party went ashore. Setting up their kettle, Smith left Robinson and Emery, the two white men, with one of the Indians; and while the meal was a-preparing, with the other Indian explored yet further, wishing no doubt to determine, by the nature of the soil and the windings of the river, the probability of finding the lake whose possible vicinity had lured him on. Again he left strict orders that those at the camp-fire should keep the fuses of their matchlocks all aglow, and at the first alarm should fire a single shot as the signal for his warning and return. This was in a neighborhood afterwards known as White Oak Swamp.

It was less than a quarter of an hour before he heard the warwhoop, unaccompanied, alas, by any noise of matchlock. Understanding that some treachery of the savages must be in question, Smith seized his guide, whom he bound fast to his arm with a

garter, levelling at the same moment a loaded pistol at the copper-colored head. Naturally the fellow protested his innocence and advised flight; with true savage cunning contriving to direct the steps of his captor into a bog, in which both of them struck fast. Ere this they had been besprinkled by a shower of arrows, one of which struck Smith on the thigh, but rebounded without hurt, from his stout "buff;" he then placed his "hind," as he calls him, in front as a shield and charged several times, firing his pistol; but the Indians, under Opechancanough in person, showing themselves in the open to the number of two hundred, contributed more than the accident of the bog to procure his surrender. He resolved, he says, to try their mercies, and cast his arms from him; until which moment they had been careful to keep at a respectful distance.

Made bold by his defenseless condition, the savages now rushed in and made him a prisoner, presenting him with some formality to the King of Pamunkey. Smith's presence of mind did not desert him; it was among the original instructions to the colonists that none should go far from the seating place without a compass, and this recommendation he who had wandered pathlessly through the Circassian wilds was most unlikely to forget or disobey. In his bosom was a circular compass of ivory with a dial-face under glass on either side; this he presented to Opechancanough, and perceiving him to be in great wonder and admiration at the movement of the needle and at the quality of the glass which permitted him to see

without touching it, Smith accentuated the impression by explaining how it always pointed to the north, and how, by this means, the English were able to make their way over trackless waters and through pathless forests hitherto unknown.

So much even an Indian might comprehend; but when the valiant captain again took up his parable and explained the roundness of the earth and the course of the sun, moon and planets, it is more than doubtful whether his hearers took in anything except an idea that this new and extraordinary "medicine" controlled, in some occult way, not only the earth, but the heavens; and that Captain Smith controlled the medicine and could make it lead him whither he would. Yet it had, for some reason or other, evidently failed him; how, they could not understand; they were by no means prepared to release him, but it behooved them to exercise caution how they dealt with him.

To use a noted warrior with kindness, after they had made him captive, was according to their usual custom of getting him in the best condition to support the greatest amount of torture; and so we find that when Smith had been released from the swamp, and half-led, half-carried to his own camp-fire, where he beheld his two followers lying dead, the Indians rubbed his benumbed limbs until the circulation had been fully restored and he was quite his own man again. Then, within an hour afterwards, he was tied to a tree and about to be shot to death with arrows, says the general history, when Opechancanough held

up the compass; whereupon all laid down their weapons and Smith was released. We can only account for this attempt to put such a speedy end to him by comparing it with another event that occurred soon after; his pistols had probably killed more than the son of the old man who, after they reached Oropaks, would have slain him for the blood debt, and the friends of the killed were naturally impatient. Otherwise, the usual custom was to proportion the publicity and the infernal ingenuity of the torture to the importance of the prisoner. But the argument of Opechancanough which procured the respite is perfectly simple; the possessor of such a powerful medicine had already shown himself impervious to arrow-shot; to test him further would merely give him an occasion for triumph.

Winfield, in his "Discourse," tells us that some three or four years previous to the coming of the Jamestown adventurers a party of white men had sailed up a river north of the James and had kidnapped five of the natives; and that Opechancanough now led Smith a prisoner about the country, from werowance to werowance, to see if any would recognize him as one of that party. If the story were true, it may be as Fiske suggests, that the kidnappers were of the ill-fated expedition of Bartholomew Gilbert; but the fact that Opechancanough gave this as his motive is almost enough in itself to raise a doubt whether the occurrence ever took place. That he desired to exhibit his own greatness in capturing so noted a warrior may be taken as certain,

and he may also have wished to demonstrate to his fellow-werowances that the English were not invincible, as had been supposed; to which demonstration the scalps of Robinson and Emery would have supplied a strong corollary.

And one may perhaps suggest, as a mere hypothesis that the wily chief of the Pamunkeys was investigating the compass, turning his course hither and thither as though to bewilder the "medicine," or perhaps looking for a locality where it might be ineffective.

Certainly there was at least one attempt to exorcise the paleface conjuror by means of a sacred dance; the performers "being strangely painted, every one his quiver of arrows, and at his back a club; on his arm a fox or an otter's skin, . . . their heads and shoulders painted red . . . his bow in his hand and the skin of a bird with her wings abroad, dried, tied on his head, a piece of copper, a white shell, a long feather, with a small rattle growing at the tails of their snakes tied to it, or some such like toy." All this while Smith and the king stood in the midst guarded, as before is said; "and after three dances they all departed."*

. The tail of a rattlesnake was one of the strongest medicines known to the Indians; its use here is decisive as to the nature of the ceremony. It is curious to note Smith's coolness and keenness of observation at such a time when, though in daily expectation of being killed and eaten, he nevertheless remarks that

*General History, p. 397.

the "scarlet-like color made an exceeding handsome shew."

It was two days later that the father of the youthful warrior he had wounded made the attempt on his life; when this was hindered by the guards of the captive, Smith was led to the bedside of the dying man in order that he might "recover him"; that is, that he might undo the charm of that other strong medicine, powder and ball. Smith, who had had experience in plenty, of such wounds, and was too keen to promise a thing which he could not perform, probably saw that the man's one chance was stimulation; he told them, therefore, that at Jamestown he had a water that would effect a cure, and kindly offered to fetch it. This offer was refused; but his captors were willing to allow him to send for whatever he would, wondering, like the Flying Islanders of Peter Wilkins, at his power of communicating his wishes by means of black marks upon white paper. And perceiving the impression made by so simple a matter, Smith took care to heighten, as far as possible, the dramatic effect. He wrote upon a leaf of his "table-book," in which, like many others of his time, he probably noted down the events of each day, a letter to some trusty friend at Jamestown, to whom he related the attack which the savages were planning and preparing for upon the fort; and added instructions how to act for the better confusing of the savage mind, and where to place the matters of which he enclosed a list, that his messengers might find these as he had directed them. All this was far beyond the reach of the

cleverest Algonquin picture-writing. Had Smith's missive contained a single recognizable outline, they could have made a guess at his methods; but with mere black marks the thing was quite beyond their compassing. And when their appearance at the fort was greeted with a volley and a sally of the defenders they fled precipitately, for this was what their captive had predicted, warning them also of the awful might and resistless power of the English. But Smith's letter they took care to leave where the palefaces could find it. It is characteristic of our hero that he had sent news, not only of the threatened attack, but of all that he had learned of the country, most of which was perfectly untrue. In regard to this matter, however, we must remember that the Indians themselves knew little beyond the bounds of their own hunting-grounds; dim notions of a chain of lakes to the north, and of a long river; more definite ideas of a "great water," somewhere in the south, near to which men were wearing coats and living in walled houses—such notions as these they had, and mentioned. A portion of these tales, however, was pure lying; as when the King of Paspahegh, a little later, offered to conduct a party to the residence of some men wearing clothes at a place called Panawicke, beyond Roanoke; but being set upon his way by the English, "played the villain, and deluding us for rewards, returned in three or four days after without going further."

Smith's messengers returning with the articles for which he had sent, and with full confirmation of all the

wonders he had related about the fort, his reputation as a conjuror was if possible increased, and his captors redoubled their efforts to please and to propitiate him; he meanwhile taking care to maintain his dignity, bearing himself rather as their guest than as their prisoner, and constantly requesting to be led to the presence of the Powhatan, prior to that return to Jamestown, which he affected to consider beyond debate, and which he probably hoped to bring about by means of the head war-chief's pledged friendship.

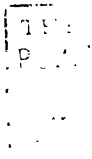
Meanwhile he learned all that was possible of the religion, the laws, and the customs of these savage peoples, though frequently misunderstanding what he witnessed. It is a little curious that he should have been again beset to change his nationality and his religion; this time with the offer of lands, skins and as many wives as he desired. Another conjuration was performed at Rasawrack, much more elaborate than the other; he had had restored to him his compass, tablet and other possessions, and as he was told that the object of the ceremony was to discover whether he would be friendly or no to the Powhatans, it was probably designed to settle his fate in some manner or other. It consisted in laying around a fire a circle of meal; round that, at some distance, a semicircle of grains of corn; then two or three more circles, a hand-breadth apart. After which they proceeded to lay down little sticks between every two, three or five grains, "so counting as an old woman her paternoster." The number of grains left over at the end of this crude

rosary probably constituted the oracle of which the medicine men were in search.

Being arrived at Werowocomico on or about January 5th, the Powhatan received them in great state and majesty, welcoming Smith with good words and great platters of sundry victuals, and assuring him of friendship and of his liberty within four or five days. Whether all the consultation to which our hero refers took place on one day is a little uncertain; but when it was all ended, instead of being released, he found himself dragged to the feet of the Powhatan where his head was laid on a huge stone, while several stout clubs were in readiness to dash out his brains.

This was not an unusual manner of disposing of a prisoner; we are surprised at it only in the case of a captive of Captain Smith's importance, who might have been considered worthy of the most exquisite torture they were able to invent. But whatever the explanation, the clubs never fell, to knock out, at one stroke, Smith's brains, the Jamestown settlement, and the corner-stone of the United States of America. It was an unquestioned privilege of the Indian women, upon whom, as we have seen, rested the whole burden of the municipal as well as the domestic economy of a village, to choose from the prisoners brought home from battle any whom they wished to adopt as husbands, sons or brothers; and this adoption was never disputed by the warriors, however bitter a hatred they may have cherished beforehand for the new member of the tribe. Such a right was now exercised by Matoaca, or Pocahontas, the Powhatan's youngest and best-loved daughter, who, rushing for-

THE SULLY PORTRAIT OF POCAHONTAS



ward at this critical juncture, "when no entreaty could prevail," says the General History, "got his head in her arms, and laid her own upon his, to save him from death."

It is quite probable that she was obliged to enforce her claim by such a demonstration of earnestness, and that some remonstrance against the adoption of so noted a conjuror was offered on this occasion; it might very justly have been looked upon as safer for the tribe to have him dead than to trust him living to work on their behalf; and so, indeed, it proved; but Pocahontas was well within her rights, and held to them, and Smith's life was spared.

This young princess, as the English persisted in considering her, was at this time about twelve or at the most thirteen years of age; Smith was twenty-eight; and whether her adoption of him was as a lover or a brother is a little uncertain. It is most probable that she had no definite intentions; she seems to have been a child in feeling as well as in years, and her name for him of father may well have represented her best-defined feeling. That Smith considered her simply as a child, and had no thought of her that approached the equality even of friendship, is witnessed by his friends and fellow-soldiers, Pots and Phettiplace; indeed, Smith's attitude towards women is through all his life that of a certain type of English soldier, of whom we may take Chinese Gordon and Lord Kitchener of Khartoum as excellent representatives. He seems not to have been insensible to the influence of women, and to have been invariably a hero with them; always in his worst straits it is

a woman who comes to the rescue; but if we except his beautiful Constantinopolitan mistress, he regards each and all with the same grave friendliness, untouched by emotion.

For which, in the case of Pocahontas, we have need to be deeply grateful. All previous European colonies in America had set the example of intermarrying with the redskins, and the practice was recommended in England as a matter of policy, though John Rolfe incurred some peril of the royal displeasure at a later period for his temerity in wedding a princess. But the example of John Rolfe did not carry the same weight as that of Captain Smith; had the latter espoused the daughter of Powhatan, there would probably have been many imitators; and there might have appeared a mixed race upon the shores of the Chesapeake, with all its accompanying characteristics, which after this lapse of years are too well known to require enumeration.

To Smith such a thought as adoption was as strange as marriage. He looked upon the young barbarian as having saved his life from a sentiment of pure pity, and was grateful accordingly; it amused him very much to find that he was expected to manufacture hatchets for Powhatan, and for Pocahontas bells, beads and copper; for since each savage was versed in all the simple arts and manufactures of his race, it was natural they should expect a similar facility from Smith in regard to the productions of the white man.

He was equally at sea as to their meaning, when, two days later, he was taken to a medicine house in the woods and there left on a mat alone. A fire

that burned in the middle of the house was probably not unwelcome, for there have been many references to a change of weather since Smith left the fort, and to the winter being now one of unusual severity. Not long after, from behind a mat at the end of the oblong edifice there came the dismallest howls and groans. This was Powhatan and his braves appeasing the tutelary spirits; and not long after they appeared before their new-made brother and signified to him that he was now become a Powhatan forever.

Of all of which Smith understood absolutely nothing, except that he was free to return to the fort, and also that in return for the country of "Capohowosick" he was to give to Powhatan two great guns and a grindstone.

It is to be feared his confidence in his newly acquired relations was not overstrong; for on their return to Jamestown, which was not, he says, more than twelve miles away, he expected every moment to be killed, even as he had done at every moment since his capture. However, the Indians were at last sincerely friendly for the time being, and after camping in the woods on the night of January 7th, they set forward before day the next morning, and so reached the fort betimes, to the great joy, he says, of all but Captain Archer and two or three of his creatures.*

*It is proper that I should call attention to Alexander Brown's defence of Ratcliffe and Archer, whom he looks upon as patriots, and as opposing Captain Smith purely from motives of patriotism. It is quite possible that they were Puritans and opposed to the royal policy, while Smith's loyalty was rather that of a soldier than a politician. For Dr. Brown's views upon the subject see his "First Republic in America" and "English Politics in Early Virginia History."

CHAPTER XIV.

How Captain Smith Returned Again to the Fort; and of His Welcome There.

It was rather a good thing that Smith and his escort had begun the day so early; for it turned out to be so busy and exciting and so full of events that not a moment of it hung heavy on their hands. After the first greeting had passed the Indian guides claimed the fulfilment of his promise to Powhatan, which was, we remember, two great guns and a grindstone. The Powhatan himself had never seen Jamestown; and his request for these articles was based entirely upon the idea of their probable usefulness which he had obtained from the discourse of his prisoner. Smith had undertaken to deliver them as required with most obliging readiness, and now exhibited to Rawhunt, Powhatan's confidential emissary, a huge millstone, and two demi-culverins, which were probably the largest guns at the fort. From our author's "Accidence for Young Seamen," we get the exact weight of these pieces of ordnance; each weighed 4,500 pounds, and discharged balls of nine pounds weight, thirty-nine scores of paces at point-blank range. The other guns that are mentioned as being in use at the fort are sakers and falcons; both of smaller calibre than the demi-culverins.

It is no wonder that Rawhunt looked upon a dead weight of 9,000 pounds, not counting the millstone, to be dragged through a pathless forest in the dead of winter as rather a large undertaking. By way of clinching the matter Smith loaded the two guns to the muzzle with stones and discharged them among the branches of a great tree loaded with icicles; whereupon there ensued so huge a smoke, steam and commotion, that the Indians took to their heels in sheer terror. But the pacific overtures which followed on the part of the colonists removed their distrust and brought about a renewed conference; and, laden with more portable gifts they departed, with great contentment on both sides.

But Smith's troubles were by no means ended; for the next event was his discovery of the preparations that had been made by a party of "the strongest among them" to run away with the pinnace to England, which project would indeed have been carried into effect before his return but for the ice-bound condition of the river. For this third attempt to abandon the settlement there seems to have been no excuse except sheer indisposition to endure hardship. Smith had, as we know, on his last departure left them well provided with corn, and Newport's return, though delayed now about a month beyond the twenty weeks he had named, was for that very reason to be expected at any moment. Smith accordingly stood upon no ceremony with the disaffected members, though they were headed by Ratcliffe and Archer; but considering them mutineers, pure and

simple, turned the guns of the fort upon them and gave them for the third time their choice to submit or go to the bottom.

They chose the former alternative, but chiefly as affording an opportunity to clear away out of their path this redoubtable captain who so obstinately prevented them from seeking the haven where they would be. For the next thing was Smith's arrest and indictment, under the "Levitical law," for the murder of his two men, Robinson and Emory. To hold a captain responsible for the death of any in his command who may be killed in warfare seems a trifle extreme even for the Levitical law; and in fact there is no provision of the sort that we have been able to discover in all the five books of Moses. It is, however, quite possible that the chapter referred to was the twelfth of Second Samuel, and that the microscopic acuteness of Master Archer discovered the desired precedent in the story of David and Uriah.

The reasoning was not indeed, for those days, particularly far-fetched, or even overstrained; David, having set Uriah the Hittite in the forefront of the battle, so that he perished miserably, was held guilty of his death by the prophet Nathan; "Thou hast killed Uriah the Hittite with the sword," it was said to him; and though David's repentance averted his own death, the child that had been born to him died in his stead. Now Smith had no son to offer in place of his own life; and the inference was inevitable.

Had Robinson and Emory kept good watch and obeyed orders, they might have been living at that

moment; but Smith had no witness that such orders had been given, and Archer and his party appealed to his own admission that he left them in the place where the Indians came upon them while he went further; and they pointed to the undeniable facts that the men were dead while their captain remained alive and on good terms with his captors. How could any one tell on what conditions, or by what means, he had regained his liberty?

Certainly Smith's vindication would have been the story of his rescue by Pocahontas; if he did not tell that story at this time, can we doubt that Archer, who was certainly at some pains to discredit as far as possible the General History when it was published in 1624, would have been more than eager to pounce upon and expose the imposture?

It seemed at the present moment that even Pocahontas could not deliver him from the hands of his own people; for he was adjudged guilty and his execution was fixed for the following day, January 9th, when the complexion of affairs was suddenly and happily altered by the cry, "Sail-ho!" and Captain Newport's ship was seen approaching the peninsula. It is worth noting at this point that, according to Wingfield's narration, only Newport's return saved either Smith's life or his own, which latter was endangered, by his report, through the cold and damp to which he was exposed in the pinnace. From this durance vile Newport at once, and very justly, released him, giving him leave to sleep in the fort. But as regards Smith, his friends gave rather a different ver-

sion of the result of the trial; for, say they, "he," *i. e.*, Smith, "quickly took such order with such lawyers, that he laid them by the heels till he sent some of them to England."

The two accounts are easily reconciled; we have already seen that, in the opinion of these devoted followers at least, and perhaps in actual fact, Smith did everything that was worth doing in the colony from first to last; he is certain to have had a strong party behind him on this occasion, and it is not likely that the hanging would have actually taken place without a fight, the issue of which his old war-dogs considered as predetermined.

Newport's arrival prevented violence, and he seems to have acted with his usual promptness and excellent judgment in arbitrating the matter. As we have seen, he released Wingfield and quashed the absurd charge against Smith; and he also put a stop to Master Archer's declared purpose of summoning a parliament which would in all likelihood have been requested to vote an immediate return to England.* We gather from the "Proceedings and Accidents" that the Rev. Robert Hunt, Master Anthony Gosnold and "about twenty-seven others" were opposed to such abandonment, and that only about ten or twelve were ready to

*This proposed parliament Dr. Brown considers the prime evidence of Archer's patriotism and republican principles. But to Newport and Smith the proposition, which was certainly in violation of the existing charter, must have looked very like the work of an agitator and revolutionary. And it is most likely that while his political ideas may have been in accordance with those of the largest-minded patriots of those times, his methods were ill-timed and ill-chosen.

return with Ratcliffe and Archer. The numbers of the colonists were, therefore, reduced to about forty, but Newport was probably relieved to find any of them alive after so severe a winter; and he was further cheered by Smith's news of the treaty with Powhatan and the plenty that prevailed at Werowocomico; an abundance gathered in, as we know, from the tributary werowances. In a few days there was substantial proof afforded him of the truth of these accounts by the arrival of Pocahontas, with some of her companions, laden with supplies; she continued these visits during the hard weather at intervals of only four or five days. No commentator seems to have pointed out the significance of this undisputed fact, or to have considered that it absolutely confirms Smith's story of his rescue, which we moderns interpret as an adoption into the tribe at her hands. But it is quite evident that the women being the depositaries and the distributors of all supplies, it would be considered the distinct duty of Pocahontas to provide for Smith that nutriment to which, as the son of the Powhatans, he was now entitled; that his proportion of the food which the women held in trust would be a large one we may conclude from the size of the rations assigned him as a prisoner, which were, he tells us, "as much as twenty men could have eaten," and from his present rank among them as a great chief and an unequaled conjuror. Hence we need not be surprised that the supplies brought by these Indian maids should have "saved many of their lives that else for all this had starved with hunger." For fate had

other vicissitudes in store for our Jamestown colonists.

Newport, on his part, had not only to hear but to tell the news relating to the time of his absence. His arrival in England was fairly speedy, and his reports to king and council were supported by personal assurances of the great need of swift succor lest the infant settlement should be wiped out by starvation or the savages. Meanwhile, tidings of his return had been conveyed to the ambassador Zuñiga, who as we learn from the inestimably valuable correspondence in Brown's Genesis, made immediate report to his master and also requested an audience of King James, purposing to protest against this invasion of territory which he claimed for the crown of Spain. It is interesting and amusing to read how James, who was at his best when lying diplomatically, put him off on one plea or another while the preparations were pushing forward for Newport's return. The death of his infant daughter, the Princess Mary, occurring at this time, afforded an authentic excuse, but we may fairly doubt whether the king's sickness which was next put forward were more than a pretense.

However that may be, two ships were made ready and laden with supplies which Smith terms ample. "Two good ships they sent us," he or rather Anas Todkill says in the General History, "with near a hundred men, well furnished with all things could be imagined necessary both for them and us; the one commanded by Captain Newport, the other by Captain Francis Nelson, an honest man and an expert mariner.

But such was the leewardness of his ship (the *Phœnix*), that though he was in sight of Cape Henry, by stormy contrary winds was he forced so far to sea that the West Indies was the next land for the repair of his masts and the relief of wood and water."

Newport, therefore, got in alone, and we may imagine that any observed deficit in the supplies he proceeded to unload would readily have been accounted for by the superior quality and abundance of those on the absent *Phœnix;* especially as Smith just then was not at all in a critical mood. Next came the Jamestown fire, which burned up nearly all the possessions of the colonists; and there were malpractices on the part of the sailors which Newport was either ignorant of or was powerless to prevent; so that the authors of the General History seem to have seen no reason to ascribe their undoubted privations to any negligence on the part of the London council. Nevertheless, Stith tells us, on the authority of "several authentic papers, and especially from a representation of our general assembly among the records in the Capitol," that Sir Thomas Smith, the treasurer, was at least open to the charge of scandalous negligence, if not of corruption, in the matter of providing these supplies from the company's funds.*

However this may be, it did, as has been said, but little harm to the colonists, who were now, since Captain Smith's captivity, on such terms of brotherly love with the savages, that it must have appeared to Newport as directly presaging the arrival of

*Stith, p. 57; edition of 1865.

the millennium. Anas Todkill's account is perfectly clear.

"To whom," *i. e.*, Captain Smith, "the savages, as is said, every other day repaired with such provisions that sufficiently did serve them from hand to mouth; part always they brought him as presents from their king or Pocahontas;" that is, as has already been explained, his portion as a chief among the Powhatans, of the tribal provisions; "the rest, he, as their market clerk, set the price himself how they should sell; so he had enchanted these poor souls, being their prisoner; and now Newport, whom he called his father, arriving near as directly as he foretold, they esteemed him as an oracle, and he had them at that submission he might command them what he listed. That God that created all things they knew he adored for his God; they would also in their discourses term (Him) the God of Captain Smith."

It is quite evident that the Powhatans at least were now acting in perfectly good faith; and it is probable that if they had been met in the same spirit and dealt with in the same sincerity, the results, both to Virginia and to the Indians, would have been very different from the things which actually took place. But Ratcliffe and the Council, which consisted, besides Smith himself, of Ratcliffe, Martin, Archer and Newport, becoming jealous of the influence of his savage friends, deliberately tried to undermine it by giving, in trading with them, four times as much for their commodities as Smith was willing to do. So says Anas Todkill, and his statement is confirmed by Smith's "rude answer,"

with which we shall presently have to do; Newport's dealings with the natives certainly underwent a material change about this time; and in fact one of the complaints which he carried home from this voyage seems to have been that Smith's dealings with the Indians were oversevere, and that, in especial, he took advantage of them in the matter of barter. In regard to which it is sufficient to say that unquestionably the commodities of the Indians would have been worth in an English market very much more than a little copper or a few glass beads; but they were not worth more to the savages. Moreover, Smith's market rates were regulated, not only by this consideration, but by the necessity for keeping the savages in their present attitude of wholesome respect and deference; he protested from the first against the evil policy of flattering or toadying to them, and the ills that befel the English in the future bore out every one of his predictions in this respect.

There seems to have been a truckling subservience practised towards Newport's sailors, to whom the council allowed free liberty of traffic with their red allies; and as a natural consequence of these economic blunders there followed an artificial rise in the prices of foodstuffs, so that in a short time that which beforehand had been valued at an ounce of copper could not be had for a pound. This cut the throat of the colonists' trade, but possessed the Indians with a high opinion of the wealth and importance of Captain Newport, who was looked upon by them, and largely through Smith's representations, as the chief

werowance of the English, second only in importance to King James himself. To bear out this view Newport had already sent presents of some value to the Powhatan, and now prepared to go in the pinnace to visit him in person.

This was early in February; it was about January 17th that the calamity of fire had fallen upon the fort, through the carelessness of some of the newly arrived in the "first supply," as it is rather quaintly termed. These having been quartered in the fort, by some mischance set their quarters afire, and all the buildings and even the fortifications being of wood, the flames spread too rapidly to allow a chance of extinguishing them. Fort, storehouse, and the newly-begun church all were consumed; Master Hunt, the parson, lost his library "and all he had but the clothes on his back; yet none ever heard him repine at his loss. This happened . . . in that extreme frost." Worst of all, the settlers in that bitter weather were left shelterless. But Newport, who seems always to have acted with discretion as well as magnanimity when he was allowed to do so, ordered his sailors to assist in the rebuilding; he looked also into the charges against Wingfield and Archer, and finding the latter's election illegal, secured his deposition from the office of councilor. The breach between Wingfield and the colony was probably beyond healing; and though no charges could be substantiated against him, the former president was not only the wrong man in the wrong place, but could hardly have been induced to remain in the colony unless by an abject apology from all concerned;

and it was therefore decided that these two persons were to return with the ship to England.

But meanwhile came the visit to the heathen "emperor," and, says Master Todkill a little petulantly, "a great coil there was to set him forward."

CHAPTER XV.

Of the Visit to Powhatan, and What Happened Thereafter.

It was, perhaps, with some remembrance of Cortez and Montezuma, that the English gave to the Powhatan the title of emperor; for though the Virginia Indians had not reached anything like the same eminence in arts or manufacture, their government was assuredly at this period more centralized, and their chiefs affected a higher degree of state and magnificence than was the case with any other tribe or confederation of tribes in Eastern North America.

Captain Newport was accompanied upon his embassy by Smith and also Master Scrivener, "a very wise and understanding gentleman," who had come out with Newport upon this voyage and had been immediately admitted to the Council. Some forty picked men escorted them, and they came to Werowocomico without any adventure worthy of record. It was not, indeed, far from Jamestown, and the only difficulty was that of swamp and the pathless woodland; but though Smith was too keen a woodsman not to have been readily able to find his way again by the aid of his trusty compass to a place he had left so recently, the approaching spring added considerations

of marsh and mire to those of dignity, and determined the party to travel by water in the pinnace.

Smith's four weeks' sojourn among the savages had helped him to a better understanding of their customs and modes of thought than any other of the English could pretend to; be believed thoroughly, despite their treachery to himself, in their present sincerity of friendly purpose; but Newport appears, when they had reached the York River, to have become alarmed at something in the demeanor of their savage entertainers and to have hesitated about going further. It seems also that Werowocomico was situated somewhat inland and that their landing place was "amongst a many of creeks over which they were to pass by such poor bridges, only made of a few cratches thrust in the ooze and three or four poles laid on them, and at the end of them the like tied together only with the barks of trees, that it made them much suspect those bridges were but traps."

Smith, to allay Newport's distrust, had offered to go first with twenty men well appointed so as to encounter the worst that could happen; but it was no part of his soldierly training to be rash; on reaching these bridges he obliged their Indian escort to go over first, in order to test their security; then he sent across ten men of his twenty, retaining meanwhile, as hostages, some of the chiefs of the Indians, until the whole party had made the transit.

One is inclined to believe that he could hardly have done less for his own safety and that of his companions; and that his dealings with the natives, though

not, as has already been said, on the lofty spiritual plane characteristic of a Marquette or a Las Casas, was nevertheless both wise and humane. Nevertheless, we shall see that he was accused of cruelty to them by Newport himself, on that mariner's next return to England; an accusation for which Smith's own immediate followers found the cause in that jealousy of the captain's ascendancy with the Indians which had begun at the fort, and was intensified by the events of this expedition.

Having safely crossed the marshes about Werowocomico, the English were escorted by two or three hundred savages into the presence of the Powhatan, who most likely received them in that very "long house" which had so nearly witnessed the death of Captain Smith. It wore on this occasion a very different favor, though the outward appearance of things was much the same. Powhatan sat upon the mat-covered frame which served him both as a bed and a throne; his pillow was of leather, embroidered with beads, his mantle of furs as large as the cloaks worn by the Irish chieftains (the comparison reveals to us a veteran of the Irish wars in the historian); as he reclined in state, a fair Indian damsel sat at his head and one at his feet; and twenty others of his wives on each side of the house behind two rows of warriors. The proportions of the long house must thus have been really considerable; and all this company were in their gayest attire, the women with their heads and bosoms painted red and chains of river pearl about their necks, the men also in their

brightest paint and wearing ornaments of peace. More than forty platters of fine bread marked, on either side, the aisle up which the guests were to advance towards the entrance of the house; and behind these stood about five hundred Indians, while a proclamation was made that no one, upon pain of death, was to do the visitors any discourtesy.

These sojourned at the chieftain's town some four or five days, passing the days in trading and the nights in "feasting, dancing, singing and the like mirth." Captain Smith acted as interpreter; and now arose a definite "unkindness" between the two captains.

It was a main object of their expedition to obtain food for the fort, which was never very many days' remove from starvation; and Smith, with this in view, was desirous to husband his resources of copper, glass beads, etc., by keeping down the prices of the commodities he wished to purchase. Newport, however, was readily deceived by Powhatan's magnificent pose of superiority to the trivialities of barter; desiring Newport, in his capacity of a werowance almost as great as himself, to lay down all his commodities together, allowing the red chieftain to take whatever he liked and trusting to his justice and liberality to make a fitting return. Newport's compliance had the immediate effect of bulling the market of this primitive corn exchange; for Powhatan, says our authority valued his corn so highly that it would have been cheaper in Spain. The fundamental difference between the two English leaders was that Newport sought to please the savage, Smith to cause the savage to please him, says the

same veracious chronicler; but the latter was too wise to suffer any dissension to appear; to gain his end he allowed Powhatan a casual glimpse of a few novelties sent out for trade with the Indians, among which a lot of blue beads immediately attracted the fancy of the savage emperor. With excellent judgment Smith now appeared unwilling to trade, assuring Powhatan that these beads were composed of a very rare substance, the color of the sky, and that they were not allowed to be worn by any but the mightiest kings. The natural result was a boom in blue beads; for a pound or two of which he obtained between two and three hundred bushels of corn, and the like amount on the same terms from Opechancanough. The coveted ornaments were then included under the sumptuary laws, as ornaments reserved for great chiefs and their wives; Smith's ascendancy was increased rather than lessened by the transaction and the peace with the English was made surer. Of the abstract morality of the action, there is little to be said, but of its worldly wisdom there is, manifestly, not a doubt.

After an exchange of hostages, namely, a lad named Thomas Savage, for an Indian called Namontack, the party returned to Jamestown, where in the midst of rebuilding the fort and other necessary labors, a most unfortunate discovery was made. The account of it is somewhat confused, and we are left to surmise whether or no it took place during Newport's absence. But it was most likely soon after his return, that a little stream on what is still known as the Neck-

of-Land, *i. e.*, the mainland north of the Back River between Archer's Creek and Mill Creek, attracted notice on account of a quantity of yellow dust which was washed down by its waters and lay shining at the bottom. This dust, which was in reality a sort of mica, was mistaken for gold by the adventurers, who all at once and altogether lost their heads, and fell into the the wildest and most delirious dreams of the gold fever. "For they," says Mr. Robert Beverly,* "taking all to be gold that glittered, ran into the utmost distraction, neglecting both the necessary defence of their lives from the Indians and the support of their bodies by the securing of provisions."

Smith seems to have been about the only one who kept a calm sough throughout the excitement; not that he had any objection to gold in itself, or to becoming enriched by its means; but that he considered that this "gilded dirt," even if genuine, which he was not quite convinced of, could hardly make amends for starvation. And starvation now became imminent. The fire had, as we know, consumed the stores brought from England, and the colony was again reduced to a diet of porridge and water; this time not even with the variety of wheat and barley to make a change from oatmeal; but plain corn-meal mush for breakfast, dinner and supper, all three of which were usually eaten at the same time. Moreover, the lingering of the ship on account of the gold find consumed what provision was left them;

*History of Virginia, p. 17.

for her own especial stores having been injured by leakage and ship-rats, the colonists were forced to share with the sailors their own meagre supplies, so that between a low diet and the bitter weather more than half the settlers died. And meanwhile, "there was no talk, no hope, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, load gold; such a bruit of gold that one mad fellow (a wag), desired to be buried in the sands, lest they should by their art make gold of his bones. . . . Were it that Captain Smith would not applaud all these golden inventions because they admitted him not to the sight of their trials nor golden consultations, I know not; but I have heard him oft question with Captain Martin, and tell him, except he could show him a more substantial trial, he was not enamored of their dirty skill breathing out these and many other passions. Never did anything more torment him than to see all necessary business neglected to freight such a drunken ship with so much gilded dirt. . . . Till then we had never counted Captain Newport a refiner."

So says the author of this part of the General History, (p. 408,) who seems to have had a gift of sarcasm almost as notable as Captain Smith's own. More and more clearly do we understand why Smith was disliked by his fellow-settlers.

But at last, on April 10, 1608, with a cargo of shining mica dust, Newport set sail for England; taking with him Wingfield and Archer, who had in Virginia, says Master Todkill, engrossed to themselves all titles and employments, "parliaments, pleas, petitions, ad-

mirals, recorders, interpreters, chronologers, courts of plea and justices of peace."

As though the hardships of the colony were not severe enough, Martin and Ratcliffe, who was still president and still in poor health,* are charged with appropriating what scanty stores remained and with selling these to the colonists; thus using what had been intended to be common property and for the nourishment of all, as "an inheritable revenue." The sailors also had made profit of their need in the same way; and it is possible that even Newport was concerned in this fraudulent dealing with a public trust.

> "Oh! cursed gold, those hunger-starved movers,
> To what misfortunes lead'st thou all those lovers!
> For all the China wealth, nor Indies', can
> Suffice the minde of an av'ritious man."

The General History, most likely by the hand of Smith himself, is decorated with occasional gems of verse in the fashion of the times; and as some commentators have taken occasion to ridicule the laudatory poems which form a section of this work, there is no better opportunity than the present to refer this also to current custom, of which the sonnets of Mr. William Shakespeare himself, written to the honor and glory of Mr. W. H., constitute the most exquisite and distinguished example. We can hardly imagine at this distance of time how such things could have been at all tolerable, but probably no one living in 1624, when the History was published, felt any

*He had accidentally shot himself in the hand with a pistol.

inclination to dispute the taste of these poems, however inclined they might have been to question the sentiments which they express.

The ship once fairly gone, the necessity of preserving their own lives became self-evident to the most ardent gold-seeker; and under the leadership of Smith and Scrivener, a number of matters were set afoot; the rebuilding of the fort, the repairing of the palisades, cutting down trees, preparing the fields and planting corn therein, and finally the re-covering of the storehouse, which being of brick had lost only its thatched roof; and the rebuilding of the church, which had been done by the sailors and gold-finders so skilfully, that, says the History, the rains washed it away in fourteen days. While these things were a-doing, a pleasant surprise came suddenly upon them, in the arrival of the *Phœnix*, Captain Nelson; the ship which, as already seen, had sailed in company with Newport and had by this time been given over for lost. Nelson had, despite his original misfortune and consequent delay, exercised such good husbandry towards his ship and cargo as to land both crew and stores undiminished; to us it seems a matter of course that he should have afforded his men the change of food offered them by the game and fruits to be found in the West Indies, where he had put in to refit; but to the already abused confidence of the colonists his probity and good sense appeared little less than miraculous. "He had not anything but he freely imparted it; which honest dealing (being a mariner) caused us admire him; we would not have wished more than he did for us."

But the question of how to relade the returning ship so as most to delight the hearts of the London Council, now became a burning one. Smith was altogether against another lading of so-called gold, and made the practical suggestion of a cargo of cedar, of which they had such abundance that it was not only the readiest commodity to hand, but also afforded a reliable sample of the colony's future line of exports. But this proposition, in the eyes of such a fanatical gold-finder and refiner as Captain Martin, lacked color; a compromise was finally made upon the basis of another expedition to discover the Monacan country beyond the falls, of which their own apparent find had made them hopeful of sending home gilded accounts. Even this was not altogether to the mind of Smith, who would willingly have postponed such a discovery to a period of less pressing need, when it could have been performed with greater certainty and thoroughness. He yielded this point, however, and with such excellent grace that within six days he had trained the sixty men placed at his command for the expedition so thoroughly in their tactics and musket practice, "that they little feared whom they should encounter."

It is not unlikely that word of these martial preparations was carried to Powhatan, and that the question of swords and turkeys was simply a convenient excuse for striking the first blow. Some little time before Newport's departure, he had exchanged at Powhatan's suggestion twenty swords for the same number of turkeys, and after the departure of the ship

an equal number of the fowls was sent to Captain Smith, expecting a like return. But Smith was far too wary to put weapons into the hands of the savages; at which the Indians taking umbrage endeavored to help themselves to what (though they would have had no hesitation in stealing it under any circumstances) they considered as justly their own property. The stringently pacific orders of the London Council, who stood in no personal danger, as our chronicler hints, prevented these thefts and thieves from receiving their due until some of them unfortunately grew so bold as to meddle with Captain Smith. But no order in council could have prevented the Captain from resenting a personal matter; and he accordingly retaliated with immediate and effectual severity; some of them he hunted up and down the island, some he terrified with whipping, beating and imprisonment.

Upon this the Indians, having captured a couple of stragglers, appeared in force before the fort, demanding the release of those whom Smith had imprisoned, on pain of death to every Englishman. Smith went forth to them alone, and so dealt with them—probably in his character of big medicine-man—that within an hour they released their two prisoners and begged an unconditional peace. He next took his own prisoners in hand, to force from them the confession of the intended treachery; and causing them to believe that one of their number had perished by certain volleys which he had fired out of their sight, they vied with each other in relating all that he desired to know, how Powhatan's purpose in obtaining

English weapons had been merely the future cutting of English throats. The red "emperor" was not behind his fellow-monarchs of Europe in readiness to disavow any emissaries whose mission chanced to miscarry; and there arrived at the fort in the following month a new ambassador in the person of Pocahontas, charged with gifts and excuses for the behavior of the "rash untoward captains," who had, of course, acted entirely without his orders. Smith was not behind in diplomacy; he gave his prisoners a sound thrashing, kept them a day or two longer, during which he fed them up and treated them kindly; and then released them as a personal favor to the young princess to whom he owed his own life.

But the Council, though unable to prevent a course of conduct which without the death of a single Indian had brought all the savages into such fear and submission that Smith's mere name was enough to terrify them, were nevertheless strong enough to accuse him freely of cruelty to these children of nature; and subsequent events make it likely that complaints, by no means moderate, went home to London on the *Phœnix*, the character of whose freight had meanwhile been settled by this little unpleasantness. A distant expedition had been out of the question, and gold digging on the mainland would have proved an occupation more exciting than wholesome. The ship was, therefore, laden with cedar, and set sail on June 2, 1608; Smith going in her as far as Cape Henry, where he left her, and with fourteen others, embarked in the barge to perform the discovery of the Chesapeake.

His "true relation" was sent to the home Council at this time by the hands of Captain Nelson. It was in the form of a private letter, though not necessarily to a private person. Smith was on terms, which we may call intimate, with more than one member of the Council, notably with his namesake, Sir Thomas Smith, the treasurer; so much so, that he has been accused of falsifying facts in order to shield that gentleman.

The letter was in form an ordinary "news-letter" of those times, before the invention of the reporter or special correspondent; it has all the marks of being addressed to a person in some authority to whom the writer could speak confidentially of the affairs of the colony. Yet, he avoided laying undue emphasis upon its lamentable dissensions. He omits, also, all reference to his own wish to postpone the discovery of the Chesapeake and its shores to a more convenient season, giving only the Indian disturbances which had occasioned the matter to be delayed until the departure of the *Phœnix*.

The person to whom the letter was addressed, rather carelessly, perhaps, in the then condition of affairs, allowed it to pass out of his hands; and in August of that same year (the *Phœnix* made a quick trip and reached home before the following 7th of July), it fell into those of a person subscribing himself "I. H." His statement is that he fell upon the relation by chance, at the second or third hand, as he thinks; and believing it to contain matters interesting to the general public, and calculated if they were

known to promote the welfare of the colony, he published it without the knowledge of the author, as he distinctly states. One is inclined to believe that he was right, and that it did tend to increase the public interest in Virginia; and it is difficult to imagine how it could have done harm. For Wingfield's deposition and return home were already matters of public notoriety; and other points treated of are simply and moderately stated from the writer's standpoint, as being desirous that his correspondent should be made acquainted with all the facts.

That Mr. "I. H." was sincere in his avowed object of interesting the public in the new colony is shown by his statement that he had drawn whatever in those days corresponded to a blue pencil through a portion of the manuscript. "Something more was by him written, which being as I thought fit to be private, I would not adventure to make it public."* We can hardly do better than to follow Dr. John Fiske in the opinion that this omitted portion related to the Pocahontas incident. There is an evident hiatus where this rescue should have been related; and, as Dr. Fiske well observes, the omission destroys the credibility of the narrative; since the writer represents himself on one page as being assaulted by an angry father, whose son had been killed during the skirmish in the swamp, and directly after, describes his return to Jamestown, without any mention of the way in which the blood-debt to the tribe was atoned. The

*Smith's Works, p. 4.

whole question has been so fully argued by Dr. Fiske,* and also by Mr. W. W. Henry in the Proceedings of the Virginia Historical Society, 1882, that it is unnecessary here to develop it further.

Another packet from Smith's facile pen was conveyed by the *Phœnix* to no less a person than the celebrated navigator, Captain Henry Hudson. His well-known name, like many others of the time, was spelled quite variously, but was probably originally Herdson; he was a nephew and namesake of that Henry Hudson, who was one of the founders of the Muscovy Company, in 1555. The earliest mention of the younger Hudson seems to date from 1607, when he commanded the *Hopeful*, sent out by the Muscovy Company in search of the greatly desired Northwest Passage. He explored the north coast of Greenland and Spitzbergen as far as eighty degrees, twenty-three minutes north latitude, but was obliged to return unsuccessful. The next year, 1608, under the same patronage, he repeated the attempts of others to find a Northeast Passage by the Waigatz or Kara Strait; when upon doubling the "North Cape of Tartaria," he should, according to logic, have found himself within easy sailing distance of the Pacific. But this also proving impracticable he returned to London. Here he found Smith's packet, containing charts, and information that, it was most probable the Northwest

*See "Old Virginia and Her Neighbors," pp. 102-111. It had been especially directed that in writing home the colonists should refrain from any statements likely to discourage others. "I. H." considered a spice of danger to be attractive, but looked upon this incomprehensible treatment of prisoners as discouraging.

Passage was to be found at the head of Chesapeake Bay or thereabouts. It is to be remembered, first, that these tidings of Smith's were based upon information derived from the Indians, not on observations of his own; secondly, that Hudson was at the time of writing in English employ, the members of the Muscovy Company being to some extent the same as those interested in Virginia; and thirdly, that as the *Phœnix* left the Bay, Smith himself was actually bound upon an expedition to make the possible discovery of which he wrote to Hudson, and the glory of which, therefore, if his news were trustworthy, he would have secured for England before the navigator had had time to receive his letter. Nevertheless, he has been solemnly arraigned by the author of the "Genesis of the United States," for breach of confidence and betrayal of the London Company's secrets.

Hudson, it is true, immediately afterwards entered into the employment of the Dutch East India Company, in whose service he sailed from Amsterdam, in the *Half Moon*, on March 25, 1609; but his first intention was to repeat the attempt of his former voyage; a Northeast Passage to the South Sea being in the opinion of the Dutch merchants more immediately desirable than that by the Northwest. It was certainly more feasible, as was afterwards demonstrated by the navigator who gave name to Bering Strait and Sea.* But Hudson's crew becoming dissatisfied on account of the cold and hardship they were compelled to endure, forced him to turn back;

*And also by Nordenskiold, who made the precise voyage contemplated by Hudson early in the nineteenth century.

and striking directly across the North Atlantic he reached the coast of Nova Scotia, whence he sailed south as far as latitude thirty-five degrees. Thence he sailed west, and north along the coast of the present United States, looking in at every bay, gulf or other promising body of water on the way. He was thus actually within the entrance of the Chesapeake; that he did not explore it to its head must be assigned to one of three causes; either because he had no orders to do so, as from the conditions of the voyage we know that he had not; because he lacked the loyal support of his crew; or that he had had further tidings from Smith that there was no thoroughfare in that direction. For this there had been ample time and opportunity, though otherwise it is a mere hypothesis.

Continuing northward, Hudson entered the river which bears his name, up which he sailed as far as the site of the present city of Albany; and it is on this exploration of his that the Dutch founded their claim to that locality. There is no doubt, however, that Hudson considered all that region the property of the two Virginia companies. He reached Amsterdam on September 2d, 1609, and at once his connection with the Dutch merchants was dissolved. The transfer of his allegiance does not seem to have offended his English employers, since in 1610, April 17th, he sailed again under English patronage. His ship, the *Discovery*, was fitted out by several private individuals, among whom were Sir Thomas Smith, the Virginia treasurer, Sir Dudley Digges and John Wolstonholme. Captain John Smith was at that time in England; and though his map of Virginia

was not given to the world until two years later, we cannot doubt that it was accessible in the rough to the promoters of this enterprise. Consequently, Hudson did not enter the Chesapeake at all during this voyage in search of a northwest passage, but explored the strait and bay which bear his name, in the latter of which he was, in 1611, set adrift in an open boat with eight faithful friends, by a crew again grown mutinous on account of cold, hunger and other hardships. No further tidings of him were ever received.

But we should beg pardon of the reader for so lengthy a digression, which can be excused only by the aspersions that have been cast upon the character of the subject of this biography on account of his connection with Hudson, of whose share in the explorations of the time, and of the exact result of Smith's communication to him, it seemed therefore advisable to tell the story.

We now return to the *Phœnix*, in which Captain Martin was a passenger to England, partly because his health still remained feeble, and very largely to look after his interests as a finder and refiner of gold. We may fancy the disappointment that awaited him in London, where his "gilded dirt" had already been pronounced by the wise mere mica or, as Beverley terms it, "dust isinglass." But, undiscouraged and loyal to his colony, Martin returned in 1609 with Gates and Somers, and in their company was cast away upon the Bermudas, or Summer Islands, afterwards coming safely to Virginia to do the infant colony loyal yeoman's service.

CHAPTER XVI.

How They Discovered the Bay of Chesapeake; With Other Such Matters.

The first land visited by the crew of Smith's barge, after they had watched, rather wistfully, perhaps, the disappearance of the *Phœnix* behind the curving waters of the Atlantic, is a place possessing a newly won romantic interest. On the outer edge of Cape Charles, washed by the waters of the great Atlantic itself, lie a cluster of sandy islands, still known by the name which was given them at the time our history has just attained, Smith's Islands. Upon the largest of these stands the Cape Charles lighthouse, and, says the author of a recent sketch of the place,* the beach, sand-dunes, scrub trees, marshes and myriads of gulls are just as they were in the old days, when Captain Ralph Percy with his bride, and his noble prisoner, with the versatile Master Sparrow, and his trusty, yet faithless servingman, were driven by a storm upon its inhospitable beach, as we read in the fascinating pages of Miss Johnston's "To Have and To Hold." The Island is about nine miles in length, and thus afforded ample room for the three duels with Red Gil, the Spaniard, and the ever-charming Captain Paradise, which Captain Percy fought and won successively,

* Thomas Dixon, Jr., in *The Bookman* for November, 1900.

quite in the style of Smith himself, at Regall. In fact, one cannot avoid the fancy that Miss Johnston based the character and adventures of her hero very largely on those of him whom the present writer has endeavored to illustrate; supplying only the element of love-romance in which, Smith's life is so deficient.

We remember that at the period we have now reached, the western shore of the Chesapeake had been fairly well explored, as far as the York River. Therefore, on leaving the ship, Smith and his companions struck directly across the mouth of the bay to the island just mentioned, whence it was their purpose to explore the eastern side, the present eastern shore of Virginia and Maryland.

The king of Accomac they found to be the "comeliest, proper, civil savage we encountered." From him they heard of the latest marvel among the redskins; namely, the deaths of two children, whose parents, afterwards revisiting their bodies, whether moved thereto by dreams or visions or by simple parental affection our chronicler does not know, were soon after stricken with a mortal disease, which, spreading through the tribe, a great part of them died and but few escaped. The countenances of the children are said to have been delightful, "as though they had regained their vital spirits," and the matter is interesting as a form of that hysterical disease or possession, to which ignorant and barbarous peoples appear peculiarly liable.

Northwards they sailed in their uncovered barge; it was still early June, when the bay and its shores are

at their best, the vegetation as yet unparched by the summer heats, and the waters moderating the fervor of the sun-rays by that which they retain of the winter cold. Exploring the eastern shore and the neighboring islands of the bay, probably as far as Dorchester County, Maryland, and finding it necessary to discipline the Indians as they went along, before they could make friends of them, a scarcity of fresh water induced them to cross the bay again to the western shore, where they explored most of the imposing looking inlets, and set the example which is followed to the present day, of calling them rivers. Among others, the present Patapsco was examined as far, perhaps, as the site of Baltimore; and was called the Bolus, "for that the clay in many places under the cliffs by the high-water mark did grow up in red and white marks, as gum out of trees, and in some places participated together as though they were all of one nature, excepting the color, the rest of the earth on both sides being hard sandy gravel, which made us think it Bole Armoniac and Terra Sigillata."

They had not been without experience of bad weather; to which a sea monster, rearing his head above the waves at about the point where the storm burst upon them, bears due witness on Smith's Map; and now, their voyage having lasted some twelve days, some of the "gallants" who had on their first setting forth, assumed, a little superciliously, that Captain Smith would not hold out long at discovering the bay in an open boat, were themselves full of complaints and importunities for him to return. It is true,

says our chronicler, who must at this point have been Dr. Russell, that "they were oft tired at the oars," and their bread "spoiled with wet so that it was rotten (yet so good were their stomachs that they could digest it)"—observe the medical point of view!—and therefore there was no serious reason for abandoning the enterprise, now that they were, perhaps, within a day's sail or so of the greatly desired inlet which should lead them to the South Sea.

Smith, therefore, made them an oration on the spot, reminding them of the reflections they had cast upon his "tenderness," and seeking to shame them out of their own by the example of Sir Ralph Lane's men, who had refused to give up the discovery of "Moratico" while they had yet a dog left, which might be boiled for food, flavored with sassafras leaves. He alluded also to the ridicule that would justly fall to their share if they should return on account of such childish fears, alleging that in such return their dangers were as great as in going on. "You cannot say but I have shared with you in the worst that is past; and for what is to come of lodging, diet or whatsoever, I am contented you allot the worst part to myself . . . . Regain therefore your old spirits; for return I will not (if God please), till I have seen the Massawomeks, found Patawomek, or the head of this bay you conceit to be endless."

That it should prove to be practically endless was doubtless Smith's secret hope; but they were still a long way from its head; and after two or three days, further rowing, against head winds and very bad

weather, so that two or three fell really ill, Smith consented to return, perhaps himself discouraged by the incivility of the bay (at this point some nine miles broad, with nine and ten fathoms water) in bending rudely towards the northeast, in which direction a strait would lead towards the North Sea (as it was often called) instead of the South.

The Massawomeks were a tribe seated near the head of the bay, of whom they had heard from the pleasant king of Accomac, who had also informed them of the existence of the Potomac.* But his descriptions of the bay, isles, and rivers, that did them exceeding pleasure, must have been more interesting than accurate, since they had been led to expect this river much too far to the north; upon June 16, as they were returning, they discovered its mouth. By this time the sick were all recovered and the weather again was fine; and the northwestward trend of the stream being precisely what they had hoped to find, they sailed up its waters for thirty miles, and may have held a feast and a pow-wow where now stands the nation's capital, within whose limits exists the only memorial erected to the discoverer, anywhere in the world over which he traveled so widely and adventurously.†

*The Potomac or Espiritu Santo, was known to them also through Spanish explorations, *vide infra*.

†As these pages are passing through the press I learn that in the old Church of Smithfield, Virginia, one of the oldest church buildings in America, and recently beautifully restored, the centre light of the east window is a memorial to Captain John Smith, the lights on either side being in memory respectively of Pocahontas and John Rolfe.

The Indians of those parts were, however, decidedly hostile; when, after his fashion he had overawed them with volleys of musketry, when the skipping of the bullets over the water and the echoes sent back from the thick woods impressed them as the very acme of the black art, they informed him that they had Powhatan's orders for this unfriendly welcome; and that the red king had been incited to the plan by the discontented at Jamestown, who believed that with the removal of Smith, the force which retained them in Virginia against their will would also vanish. It is most likely that the discontented were entirely right; we have already come upon several occasions when Smith alone prevented the abandonment of the enterprise; and the information thus imparted bears the stamp of truth. It could hardly have been invented even by Powhatan himself, whose talent for fictitious narrative was more than remarkable.

And now their hopes of finding a mine* of one of the precious metals were suddenly raised to the highest pitch; for indeed it was largely in search of this mine that they had come so far up the river. They had heard of it from many of the red men, as the place where might be procured a substance resembling silver, with which the savages were wont to powder their bodies on festal occasions. Having dug out the earth from the side of a great mountain "like antimony," with shells and stone hatchets, they were accustomed to wash it in the waters of a "fair brook" that ran near by; the residuum was then put up for the market

*At the head of the River Qinyough the modern Acquia.

in little skin bags. When a savage had painted himself or his idol with this metal, he looked "like Blackamoors, dusted with silver." Smith supposed the metal to be antimony; but certain bags of it sent to England on Newport's first return had proved on assay to be more than half silver. However, what they succeeded in procuring on this journey turned out worthless; whether they were conducted by their wily entertainers to the likeliest claim one is hardly prepared to say.

It is rather the modern fashion to sneer at the metallic expectations of the English; but says a recent writer, "Gold and silver really exist in the general area so eagerly explored by the first colonists in the hope of discovering the precious metals. In 1849, lead and silver ores, intermixed, were brought to light in Nelson County, and so abundant were the deposits of gold in Fluvanna, that in the same year a mill for crushing the ore was erected in that county by Commodore Stockton. It is an interesting fact, that even at the present day, a very considerable quantity of gold which has been picked up in the streams by the inhabitants is brought to the stores in this part of the state, to be exchanged for articles of various kinds. In Buckingham County, lying immediately to the south, on the further side of James River, gold mines have been systematically worked for several generations, and at a sufficient rate of profit to compensate the owners for the expense which has been entailed."*

*Economic History of Virginia, by Philip A. Bruce, Vol. I, pp. 81-82.

Smith and his companions were no mineralogists, as he states; but in regard to furs he was more of an expert; and the small fish in the bay he reports as plentiful in variety and quantity. But the prospect for a cod-fishery, such as those which already had become noted on the Newfoundland coast, he justly considers poor. But when they had left the Potomac, and intended next to visit the seat of his former friends and jailers, so to speak, the Rappahannocks or Toppahannocks, an unhappy acccident interrupted the course of the discovery and occasioned an untimely return to the fort.

They had many times observed the method of spearing fish practised by the Indians, of which a full account with illustrations may be found in Beverley. And it is interesting to know that the pictures of Indians and their houses, sports and occupations used in this work may actually have been seen by Smith before his departure from England, and may have aided to inspire in him an interest in these inhabitants of the New World. They were made by the "skilful and ingenious painter, Mr. John Wythe," who was sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh to the first colony at Roanoke, by the special advice of Queen Elizabeth, and returned to England with Sir Francis Drake when the colony was abandoned. Not long after, Theodore de Bry being in England obtained a sight of these drawings, and through Mr. Richard Hakluyt's intercession, was allowed by the painter to publish copper-plate engravings of them with Latin explanations.* The book

*These Latin explanations, translated into English, are probably those that accompany the pictures as given by Beverley.

appeared at Frankfort, in 1590, and copies of it no doubt were brought to England, one of which may not unreasonably be supposed to have fallen into the hands of this elder Hakluyt. But Smith's acquaintance with the special illustration in question, if he indeed had seen it, was on the present occasion productive of disaster; for seeking to rival the Indians in this spearing of fish, only using the sword instead of a spear, his dexterity was emulated by his crew; "thus we took more in one hour than we could eat in a day."

But in the midst of the sport there chanced to come upon the captain's sword a fish, which he, not knowing it as well as he afterwards had occasion to do, handled so carelessly as to receive a severe sting; there was neither blood nor wound to be seen further than a little blue mark; but this in a short time produced such swelling of the arm and hand that all in the party considered it fatally poisonous. Indeed, his end was thought to be so near that, by his own directions, a grave was dug for him on the island; but a certain oil applied by Dr. Russell, though at first it had seemed not to help the case, finally effected a cure, and Smith was able to "eat of the fish to his supper." And again our history shows the physician's hand; for it appears that, though immediate danger seemed over, Smith was not quite himself, so that it was thought best to return directly to Jamestown, where other medicaments were to be found than this precious and preservative oil.

Touching at Kecoughtan on the next day, the simple

savages, seeing the captain pallid and bandaged, and one of the crew bloody (from breaking his shin), could not be persuaded but that they had been to war; whereupon the wags of the party, finding that the truth would not satisfy them, invented some genuine frontiersman's romances, which they confided to their interlocutors as a profound secret. And it was all about the Massowomeks, whom they had failed to discover, but with whom, in these narrations, they had fought mightily and overcome them with great slaughter, and much spoil. This rumor went faster up the river than the barge, and when they had reached Warraskoyack the same humorists decorated her in such fashion, with painted streamers and other devices, as to frighten those in the fort with the supposition that she was the advance boat of a Spanish frigate.

It would not have been at all undeserved had Jamestown indeed been gobbled by the Spaniards, for the discoverers found that matters had not been going at all well during their absence. There seems little doubt that Ratcliffe's head was turned by his brief authority as president, for, with Smith absent, Scrivener, who was ill "of a calenture,"* had been unable to keep him at all in check. Considering himself as the representative of royalty—which, in its way, was true enough—he had done his best to maintain royal state, living in what luxury he might, personally

*"Ship fever," as this species of typhus is called, was frequently contracted during the voyage out, and was a principal cause of the mortality among the colonists.

abusing and maltreating the settlers, and compelling them to set aside works for the public well-being in order to put up a hunting lodge for him in the woods of the mainland. Thus the colony was again in a bad way, and, according to our chronicle, Ratcliffe was in danger of assassination, for the provisions had been wasted by his prodigality, and those who were not ill from the climate showed bruises given by the president's hand.*

The good news brought by the discoverers and the hope that on further investigation the passage to the Pacific might prove to be by the head of their bay, for the time allayed the discord; but to retain Ratcliffe in his misused authority was out of the question. Smith was urged to accept the presidency, but, though he was not accustomed to stand upon ceremony when the existence of the colony was at stake, he had no idea of even appearing to seek his personal aggrandizement. It is not of the least importance whether or no Scrivener bore the title of president; probably Smith, not wishing to act too autocratically when the same end might be otherwise accomplished, would have called him either acting president or vice-president or by some similar title. The matter is only worth mention because some historians in modern times have taken exception to the style and title of President Scrivener, and have asserted that Ratcliffe served honorably his full term of a year, from the de-

*Dr. Alex. Brown regards these charges against Ratcliffe as pure calumny. Quite possibly they were exaggerated; but that they were cut out of whole cloth is, from Smith's personal character, very improbable.

position of Wingfield, September 10th, 1607, to the corresponding date in 1608, when "the presidency was surrendered to Captain Smith," as runs the chapter head. It is noteworthy that at the head of Chapter VI. we have "The *Government* Surrendered to Master Scrivener" and not the presidency.

Smith had been, as we have seen, willing to postpone voyages of discovery for a season, but now that the goal appeared so close at hand he was not insensible to the possible glory of calling the Northwest Passage after his own name, or to the importance as a trading post and base of supplies for English ships that would accrue to Jamestown, if indeed the Pacific might be reached via the Chesapeake. He therefore began immediate preparation to finish the exploration, first setting in order the affairs of the fort by returning to the public store those provisions which Ratcliffe had misappropriated, either for his personal use or for the purpose of selling them again to the colonists, by appointing, or securing the appointment of, Master Scrivener to the executive authority, and by naming as his deputies and assistants during his illness certain persons whom he considered honest and efficient. It thus seems to be actually the case that Smith was the only person who could make these discoveries abroad or keep order at home.

These matters being effected, and most of the colonists being unable to endure any hard work or exposure, the summer heat being now upon them, and they newly come from England, he left them to live at their ease and become acclimated at their leisure,

and himself set forth on July 24th in the barge with twelve men to find the head of the bay and, if possible, a passage to the South Sea.

CHAPTER XVII.

Of the Accidents that Befell During the Second Voyage for the Discovery of the Bay.

Having now a general idea of the conformation of its shores, Smith in his second voyage proceeded, as directly as might be, to the headwaters of the Chesapeake, where alone he might hope to find the desired inlet or river, which on being followed to its source should conduct him to the South Sea. Contrary winds detained the barge at Kecoughtan for two or three days. But the time was not wasted. The king, supposing them bound on a warlike expedition for the complete subjugation of his enemies the Massawomeks,* feasted them with much mirth; and a few rockets sent off by the English produced such an excellent moral effect that their entertainers believed them capable of accomplishing anything they might attempt; even the impossible, says our chronicler drily.

Setting sail from Kecoughtan, they anchored the first night at Stingray Island,† still in the twentieth century called from the fish which had so nearly proved fatal to Captain Smith. The next day, pur-

* Or Maechachtinni, a name given to the Seneca Indians by their enemies the Lenni Lenape.

† Or Stingray Point.

suing their course northward, they crossed the Potomac and Patapsco, and exploring the head of the Bay, found it "divided in four, all which we searched so far as we could sail them." And here, sure enough, they found the Massawomeks in force, seven or eight canoes full of them. This tribe, of which the English had heard so much, seems to have migrated southwards from Canada, and to have been allied in blood to those who were afterwards known as Senecas, from their seat upon Seneca Lake. They were an unusually fierce and warlike race and strong in numbers, and were the deadly enemies of the Susquehannocks, who were at this time seated on the river of that name.

The Indians making hostile demonstrations, Smith prepared for the encounter. Seven of his men had recently come from England, and had proved unable to endure the July heat and the exposure, so that there were but five, including the captain, who were able to stand. Placing all the sick together in the bottom of the barge, and covering them with a tarpaulin, he mounted their hats upon sticks and allowed them just to show over the side of the boat. Between each two empty hats showed another, covering a bona-fide head, on either side of which protruded the muzzle of a gun. This formidable armament so dismayed the Indians that they fled incontinent; halting, when they had got to shore, to watch "the sailing of our barge till we anchored right against them." After some coyness on the part of the savages, two of their number were persuaded aboard of this mysterious

vessel, which was apparently able to move through the waters unguided by human hands; the gift of a bell to each of them brought aboard the whole flotilla, with presents in return of venison, bears' meat, fish, bows, arrows, clubs, targets and bears' skins. But though unable to converse with their new friends except by signs, the language being quite different from that of the Powhatans, they managed to comprehend, aided thereto by the recent wounds of several of the party, that the expedition had been against the Tockwogh Indians. Night parted them, the English guilelessly expecting to meet again in the morning; but whether or no they had misunderstood the Massawomeks, or whether the latter considered discretion the better part of valor, and gave these white magicians a wide berth while it still was possible to them, certain it is that the morning light showed the English an empty landscape, save of themselves; and "after that we never saw them."

The weapons with which they had been supplied served them well with the Tockwoghs, whom they next encountered, and on whom they "feigned the invention of Kecoughtan," that they had captured all in war. With these Indians they were able to hold converse, as one of their number was able to speak the language of Powhatan.

The cause of the withdrawal of the Massawomeks became evident when the English were conducted to the Tockwogh village; for it proved to be strongly fortified and surrounded with a palisade, in the fashion common to tribes of the Iroquois. Here, for

the first time among the savages, they saw iron hatchets together with small pieces of iron and brass; and hearing upon inquiry that these had been procured from the Susquehannocks, they desired greatly to visit that tribe. But the Susquehannock town was far inland and the river of that name was difficult of navigation by reason of rocks; Smith, therefore, sent interpreters begging the Susquehannocks to come to the Tockwogh town, which at the end of a few days they did, in number about sixty. They were in size much taller and more formidable than any tribe of those regions; and they had not failed to bring along their biggest warrior, whose proportions, as given by Captain Smith himself* are somewhat startling, although, since in his own huge tribe he was regarded as a phenomenon, they are not incredible. "The calf of his leg was three-quarters of a yard about; and all the rest of his limbs so answerable to that proportion that he seemed the goodliest man that ever we beheld. His hair on the one side was long, the other shore close with a ridge over his crown like a cock's comb. His arrows were five quarters of a yard long, headed with flints or splinters of stone in form like a heart, an inch broad and an inch and a half or more long. These he wore at his back in a woll's skin for his quiver, his bow in the one hand and his club in the other, as is described."

They learned from these gigantic savages that the hatchets which had inspired their wonder had been procured from the French settlements on the River St.

*Smith's Works, p. 54.

Lawrence in trade; thus early did the French begin that policy which was to prove so deadly to the English, and which Smith himself so stubbornly opposed in Virginia, of allowing the Indians to procure European weapons.

A league with the Susquehannocks was to be had even without the asking; for with great pomp, ceremony and howling they surrounded Smith, embracing him and even offering what he, taking it for adoration, rejected and rebuked; they were not, however, to be checked until they had presented him with the apparel of a werowance, a great painted bear's skin, a chain of white beads six or seven pounds in weight, eighteen mantles, and many other toys; all which they laid at his feet in token of choosing him to be "their governor and protector," and desiring him to remain with them and lead them against the Massawomeks.

It would have been, perhaps, a temptation had Smith been the man his enemies believed him; and there is little doubt that he could have subdued the Massawomeks and spread through all that region the terror of the English name; but the captain had had, from the outset of his connection with the Virginia enterprise, a particularly clear notion of the course to be pursued in order to render the colony most valuable to its promoters and most advantageous to England. And this course did not at all include foreign conquest; he therefore, when he had given names to all the prominent points of the newly discovered territory turned his prow southwards; leaving to their

entertainers, as a solace for their disappointment, the promise of another visit the next summer.

On their way homeward, pausing to explore the Patuxent River, they encountered their old friend Mosco, whom they had met on their first voyage, and whom, from his bushy black beard, they suspected to have French blood in his veins. He seems to have been proud of his European relationship, and to have faithfully warned the English that the Rappahannocks were inclined to be hostile; but they, unjustly supposing him to be merely anxious to secure their friendship and their trade for his own people—he being a Wicocomico—disregarded his warnings and crossed the river to the Rappahannocks, whose territory lay between their own river and the Potomac. The Moraughtacunds, near neighbors of the Rappahannocks, had lately stolen some of their women, for which theft, as Smith had been entertained by the Moraughtacunds on his way south, the bereaved tribe proposed to hold him responsible. With true Indian treachery, they received him as though they meant all kindness and honest trading, even exchanging hostages, of whom one was our old friend Anas Todkill. By the advice of Mosco, the English had set up the Massawomek targets, or shields, as a breastwork round the barge; the targets were made of small sticks, interwoven among strings of hemp and silk-grass, and hence very light, but quite impenetrable to arrow shot; and they had good reason to rejoice in this protection, for Todkill, keeping his eyes open, as was his custom, discovered about two or three hundred men hidden behind trees. Justly sus-

pecting such an ambuscade, he turned to retrace his steps to the boat, whereupon the Indians laying hold upon him, he called to the English that they were betrayed. The Indian hostage, who had hoped to escape in the first alarm of the attack, leaped in a twinkling over the side of the boat, but was shot, in the water, by the soldier into whose charge he had been committed. Quickly disengaging the targets from the boat, and arming his crew with them, Smith ordered a sally to recover Todkill, dead or alive. He was happily regained unhurt, though covered with blood from the wounds of his captors. At least a thousand arrows had been discharged against the boat, but without harm to the English, and the targets having proved so useful, the rest of the day was spent in adjusting them as a permanent part of the barge's armament.

The canoes and such weapons as had been captured were allotted to Mosco, as a reward for his faithfulness; and the next morning they proceeded up the river, Mosco following along shore. Here they were ambushed by about thirty Rappahannocks; in which skirmish one of the English was wounded, or perhaps died on the next day from natural causes, for the chronicle is less clear than might be desired. His name was Featherstone, and since he had been in the colony his behavior is reported to have been honest, valiant and industrious; the English could ill afford to lose him, since not many of that sort were sent out to them.

The next day they sailed up the river as high as it was navigable, at which point they set up a cross,

and graved their names upon the trees, as was their invariable custom, to mark the limits of their explorations. These crosses are indicated on Smith's Map of Virginia; and he states, honestly enough, that beyond them the country is laid down from the tidings that he had from the natives. It would be interesting to find one of Smith's crosses, or a tree engraved with his name, or that of the sarcastic Master Todkill; but time and the elements would have destroyed these memorials, in the years that have elapsed, though the country had remained a desert. The Map itself, however, is the best proof that we could desire of Smith's courage, skill as a cartographer, and enormous industry; with all the advantages of modern instruments it still remains the foundation of every chart that can be drawn of the bay and its shores; and though constructed under difficulties which to the majority of men would have proved overwhelming, its accuracy has never been seriously impugned.

These difficulties were not even yet at an end; for, in the very midst of setting up their boundaries, the sentinel, whom as an old soldier Smith had not neglected to post, suddenly was startled by the fall of an arrow beside him, seemingly from nowhere at all. The alarm being given, the explorers stood to their arms, and immediately there were around them about a hundred Indians, "skipping from tree to tree." But the colonists had now learned the method of Indian fighting, and themselves used the trees as barricades, while Mosco skipped more lively than their foes, and when he had exhausted his quiverful of

arrows, skipped to the boat for a fresh supply. After about half-an-hour's skirmish, the attacking party vanished as suddenly as it had appeared, while to one of their number, who had been left behind for dead (he was wounded in the knee, and must have been shot during the retreat itself, as it was the invariable custom of the savages to carry away their dead and wounded as far as possible), they owed the subsequent peace established with these persistent and apparently inveterate enemies.

Having been treated by their skilful surgeon, Anthony Bagnall, who had accompanied the expedition chiefly to look after Smith's stingray wound, which his friends were apprehensive might break out in some new way, the Indian was able to sit up and eat his supper, and also to answer to a set of Mangnall's questions, which were put to him, concerning the earth, the sky, the sun, the Indian tribes in the vicinity, and the cause of this uncivil treatment of unoffending travelers. Their captive proved to be the brother of the king of Hassininga, and, on the following morning, when they had spent another night lying under their shields, with a rain of arrows falling upon them from all quarters, he made an oration to his tribe, the Mannahocks, in consequence of which a peace was concluded, commodities were exchanged, both by way of gifts and in barter, and the explorers went on their way rejoicing, leaving "four or five hundred of our merry Mannahocks, singing, dancing and making merry," possibly more or less under the influence of firewater.

Upon revisiting the friendly tribes on this, their return voyage, they found that all internal unpleasantness was for the time at an end, and that it was the universal desire that the English should conclude a peace with the Rappahannocks, the only tribe with which they were now on hostile terms. A general pow-wow being accordingly arranged, peace was quickly agreed upon, but when the only son of the king of Rappahannock was desired as a hostage, that red monarch, who had probably no idea of going further in friendship than he could easily draw back from, professed his inability to live without his family, and suggested as a substitute the three women of the tribe whom the Moraughtacunds had stolen. Smith accepted these terms, and upon their adjournment to the village in question the ladies were produced and placed in evidence. Smith thereupon, *en Grand Seigneur*, desired the Rappahannock to choose the one whom he loved best, and giving next choice to the king of Moraughtacund and the third to his friend Mosco, all were contented and perhaps impressed with the greatness and the magnanimity of the English werowance to a greater degree than would have been possible on any other terms.

So they parted the best possible friends, Mosco, in remembrance of his connection with them, changing his name to Uttasantasough, or Stranger, which seems to have been the title by which the English were known.

But even now they were not to get back to Jamestown without a little more fighting. Having only just

escaped shipwreck in a severe thunder-storm off Point Comfort, they persisted in completing their survey of the bay, all of which was now known to them except the country of the Chesapeakes, on Cape Henry, where on their first landing they had been so inhospitably assaulted.

They found both Chesapeakes and Nandsamunds in exactly the same mind, for though at first their entertainers greeted them with a show of apparent friendship, it proved but a mask for treachery. In the following engagement, between the English barge and seven or eight canoes full of savages, the latter, to escape the volleys of musketry, leapt into the water and swam ashore. Upon this Smith seized the canoes, the threatened destruction of which at once brought the Indians to terms, Smith exacting a ransom for the boats of their king's bows and arrows, a chain of pearls, and, against their next coming, four hundred baskets of corn. The Indians eagerly accepted, and would even have brought all the corn immediately, but the barge was not able to hold it. With as much as it could carry, and parting good friends, they set sail for Jamestown, which they reached on September 7, 1608.

In addition to the magnificent work of surveying the bay, accomplished during these two voyages, they present two points worth noting. We have dwelt particularly upon Smith's dealings with the natives, because accusations of his cruelty to them were laid before the London Council, and based largely upon the occurrences of this summer. Whether he were, according to the accounts of eye-witnesses, really cruel

or no, the reader can now determine for himself. This portion of the General History is subscribed by Anthony Bagnall, Nathaniel Powell, and Anas Todkill, all of whom were with him in the barge from departure to return. The first, as we know, was a surgeon; Nathaniel Powell is rated as a "gentleman," and Todkill was a private soldier, but a man of some education and much shrewd wit.

It is also of interest to note that the point on their journey where they encountered the most persistent hostility, the Rappahannock country, had been the site, about a generation before, of a Spanish colony, sent out from Mexico, under the leadership of two Jesuit fathers, Segura and Quiros. In Beach's Indian Miscellany, pp. 332–343, may be found an account of "The Spanish Mission Colony of the Rappahannock" in 1566. Some years before the son of a chief of those parts had been carried away by the Spaniards, with their usual purpose of making a Christian of him, and then using him as an instrument for the conversion of the tribe. This object was apparently fully attained; the captive was baptized, under the sponsorship of Don Luis de Velasco, by whose name he was afterwards known.

The mission colony was founded near his native village, but on the banks of the Potomac, or the Espiritu Santo, as the Spaniards termed it, calling also the bay St. Mary's Bay, and the capes at its entrance St. Mary and St. John. Their settlement they named Axacan, and the author of our paper speaks of a locality on the Potomac, near the point where the river most nearly

approaches the Rappahannock, which is still called Occaquon.

The well-known Menendez, whose name is still shadowed by the horror of the Florida massacre, having seen the fathers, as he supposed, securely seated and on the way to add to their crowns many savage souls by way of jewels, left them there and returned to Mexico; but scarcely had he departed when Don Luis threw off the mask and relapsed into savagery and heathenism. We cannot say that he relapsed into treachery, since his whole course had probably been designedly treacherous. The fathers and all their following were massacred. We hardly need the assurance that Menendez exacted a bloody revenge on his return. But the incident is interestingly connected with the Jamestown settlement, not only by Smith's visit to the locality, but by a possible connection with the tribe of Powhatan. Ralph, or Rafe Hamor, who is one of our earliest authorities for Virginia matters, says that Powhatan's tribe was driven from "the West Indies" by the Spaniards. But we know that the whole confederacy of the Powhatans was Algonquin, and it is therefore certain that they had come from the northward part of eastern North America. Hamor probably had been misled by some tradition that the tribe had come from some territory held by the Spaniards, which in this locality might have been Axacan, or the site of Ayllon's earlier attempt on the James River itself in 1526.* It would be delightful to suppose Powhatan,

*"The West India" was then a general name for the Spanish possessions in America.

Opechancanough, and Pocahontas of the same blood as Don Luis de Velasco; but the hypothesis is not required by the facts, though it is by no means excluded by them, and may therefore be left to the fancy of the reader.*

Where the missionary zeal of the Jesuits had failed Smith's shields and volleys of musketry had proved effectual; but Smith had by no means neglected matters of religion during his discovery. "Our order was daily to have prayer with a psalm," we are told, "at which solemnitie the poor savages much wondered."

The singing of psalms was at that time the recognized mark of a good Protestant in England, France and Scotland; German Lutherans and Calvinists alike had a treasury of hymns unexcelled in the history of sacred song, but Huguenots sang Clement Marot's version of the Psalter; and in England, where as yet Dr. J. M. Neale, that prince of hymnologists and translators, was not to be born for a couple of hundred years, men obeyed the scriptural injunction to sing psalms when they were merry by using chiefly the version of Sternhold and Hopkins.† Many other versions there were, but this was the best known and most popular; in Scotland its place was taken by the

*I commend to some future romancer the theory that the wily and revengeful Opechancanough was Don Louis de Velasco in person. There is not a shred of evidence for it, but that would not spoil the story.

†A copy, in the Maryland Diocesan Library, of the Geneva or "Breeches" Bible, with the date of 1607, is bound up with this version of Sternhold and Hopkins accompanied by the tunes to which the psalms were sung.

various editions of the Assembly Psalm Book, but it held its own in England, in the hands of Cromwell and the Puritans, until it was superseded by the edition of Tate and Brady in 1695. Smith's use of it marks his status as a good Protestant, of the type just beginning to be called Puritan; and we may note also the close connection in the mind of the age between religion, discovery and fighting.

CHAPTER XVIII.

How They Crowned Powhatan; and of Captain Smith's "Rude Answer."

On the tenth of September, Ratcliffe's year as president expired, and as he, Smith and Scrivener constituted the only remaining lawfully appointed members of the Council, and as Scrivener had not been six months in the colony, the presidency naturally devolved upon Smith, who thus found himself not only permitted, but in a measure compelled to accept the "Letters Patents: which, till then, by no means he would accept, though he was often importuned thereunto." *

And now the narrative (as to which we still follow the General History, in that portion subscribed by the names of Wyffin, Abbot, Phettiplace and Todkill) seems to take a spring forward, as though the narrators, after a long period of mismanagement, felt at last the presence of one who knew how to rule. And indeed, Smith seems to have possessed in a high degree that genius for detail and capacity for drudgery, combined with breadth of view and power to grasp at once the true inwardness of any given situation, which constitute administrative ability or statesmanship, according as they are applied to private or public affairs.

* Smith's Works, p. 433.

Poor Ratcliffe's hunting lodge had long ago been left uncompleted, but the ex-president seems to have made some attempt during Smith's absence to seize again upon the supreme authority, which our chronicler stigmatizes as mutiny. In consequence of this he was held as a prisoner until the return of the barge, and our narrator cannot help giving him a vicious little dig at this point on account of his "palace." The harvest, by the "honest diligence" of Master Scrivener, had all been gathered, but the store-house was leaky, and the grain had been already greatly injured by rain. However, Smith was president, and there was a good time coming, thought the faithful ones. "The church was repaired, the storehouse re-covered; buildings prepared for the supplies we expected"—no doubt our chronicler means dwelling-houses as well as barns—and "the fort reduced to a five-square form." It was at first triangular, and after the fire was probably restored more or less irregularly. It was now enlarged to contain the houses for the new settlers expected, and the form most convenient would naturally be that of a pentagon. During the Starving Time, it fell again into disrepair, and was rebuilt under Lord Delaware in the original form, triangle wise, with its base resting on the river. The colonists seem now for the first time to have been brought under a thorough military organization, and to have mounted guard in regular order; every Saturday the whole company was exercised in a plain near the west bulwark, to which, in honor of their leader, the name of Smithfield was given; here "more than a hundred savages

would stand amazed" to see these Englishmen practise themselves in target shooting.

Thus we see that Smith considered himself now in a position to carry out his own ideas as to the proper ways of planting and sustaining the colony; and as these were methods to which both colony and Council were driven by the Starving Time, they are worth just here a word of explanation. To us, at this distance of time, it seems a truism that the colony should have been made self-supporting before it was required to enrich by its exports the promoters of the enterprise. Its first business, according to Smith, was to establish itself on a sound economic and military footing; when it was able to produce its own food supply and defend itself against the Indians, it would then be in a position to acquire the luxuries and elegancies of life by establishing a trade with the mother country which would be very greatly to her advantage as well as its own.

It has already been stated that the stores had been injured by the rain; as a better shelter for their grain had now been secured, Lieutenant Percy was sent with a sufficient supply of boats to contain it, to claim the supply of four hundred bushels which had been promised by the Indians of Elizabeth River.

On their way towards the mouth of the bay, the expedition rather unfortunately came full upon the second supply under Captain Newport, who, on learning their errand, at once overrode their orders with those sent by him from the London Council, to discover the country of the Monacans; and brought

them back with himself to Jamestown on the plea that the barges would be required for the voyage up the James. One would think that even this important discovery might have waited for a few days in order to secure ample food supplies, but the question of eating and drinking seems, one regrets to say, to have weighed but lightly on Newport's mind so long as he and his crew were provided for.

Newport, indeed, was probably at this time in a mental condition not altogether happy, and the wording of the three-fold commission with which he came armed is rather significant. He had been censured by the disaffected at Jamestown, as we have seen, for lingering beyond his time,* and consuming the provisions of the colony while absorbed in the madness of his discovery of gold. And this discovery being only of gilded dirt had brought down upon him in London certainly ridicule and probably censure, from which he seems to have tried to shield himself by throwing as large a portion as possible of the blame upon Captain Smith. He had certainly succeeded in putting the Council in a very bad humor and he brought out with him a letter to the new president which from the latter's "rude answer," with which we shall deal presently, must have contained a very severe rebuke and shown a thorough misunderstanding of the whole Virginian situation.

And now for his personal guidance, as has been said, Newport had the very significant orders to remain

*See, however, Appendix A. for Newport's general instructions on this point.

in Virginia, no matter whose provisions he consumed, until he had found a lump of gold—no more dirt if you please!—the passage to the South Sea, or one of the lost Roanoke colony!

The South Sea passage, the Council had been led to think by the tidings already sent them, was most likely to be found on the other side of the Mountains Quirank; and they had accordingly supplied the navigator with a practicable boat, in five pieces, which after being carried across the Blue Ridge, might be put together and used for the subsequent voyage. It is to be noted in this connection, that what Smith and others had heard from the Indians and transmitted to the Council, as to the existence of a great water southwest of the mountains on whose shores dwelt a people wearing coats with short sleeves, becomes at once credible when regarded as applying to the Gulf of Mexico.* Francis Maguel, the Spanish spy already mentioned, states that Powhatan was accustomed to send messengers annually to the West India or Spanish America; and their route is said to have been to the head of the Powhatan, thence by a short overland journey to a river which emptied into the great sea. Such a route, by way of the Kanawha and Ohio and thence to the Mississippi, was no doubt perfectly feasible for savages unburdened and accustomed to hardship and exposure; but for the Jamestown colonists with their fine five-pieced boat, and "no means to carry victuals, munition, the hurt or the sick, but

*See Bruce's "Economic History of Virginia," Vol. I, p. 36.

on their own backs," its impracticability was even absurdly evident.

Who had devised the plan, says our chronicle, was not known, but Captain Newport had the credit of it, with the colonists; certainly he would have reaped from such a discovery a greater and more immediate profit than would have accrued to a single settler; both in the glory of finding and naming this long-desired passage, and in the impulse to commerce, and employment to seamen, which would be the first result. But a project so important as to take precedence both of this discovery and of the provisioning of the fort for the approaching winter was the coronation of Powhatan; a project which had emanated from the brain of King James himself, and whose fantastic character was due, as Dr. Fiske humorously surmises, to a mighty potation of the real Glenlivat.

Its true origin is, however, to be found in that absence of all sense of proportion which formed the chief distinction between James and a wise man; leaving him, what Sully tersely called him, "the wisest fool in Christendom." Newport was probably not very much more eager about the matter than Smith himself; but the command came from the king, and there was no choice but to obey. But Smith's objections to the discovery being performed at this particular juncture were so very strenuous, that the question was referred to the Council, which, in order to secure a decision favorable to his own wishes, Newport judiciously augmented by two gentlemen out of the second supply, Captains Richard Waldo,

and Wynne, "ancient soldiers and valiant gentlemen," says our chronicle, but newly arrived and ignorant of the necessities of the situation. Both these persons were afterwards numbered among Smith's most ardent supporters; and it is probable that on this occasion he might have won them to his way of thinking; but Newport was sustained by the deposed Ratcliffe, and by Scrivener, to whom the thought of dangerous adventure seems to have possessed a fatal attraction; so that in spite of Smith's position as president, the matter was decided adversely to his advice and repeated forewarnings.

His main objection was the impossibility of sustaining the lives of the colonists, whose stock of provisions was now well-nigh gone, and who were required, instead of supplying themselves, to relade the ship with pitch, tar, soap-ashes, wainscoting, and glass, besides drafting off a good part of their number to make the required discovery. The London Council had sent out in this supply eight Germans and Poles, skilled artisans, to make a beginning in the indicated industries; and doubtless on account of the representation of Newport as to the fertility of the country and the ample supplies to be obtained from the savages, had neglected to send stores, such as had been brought along with the first supply.

Newport's response to Smith's objections was an undertaking to freight the pinnace (twenty tons) with corn during the course of the discovery, and, after his return, to fill her up again at Werowocomico. He promised, moreover, a supply of provisions from the

Susan Constant—his power of keeping which promise we shall presently examine,—and he more than hinted that Smith's objections were merely devices to hinder Newport from making this discovery in order later on to effect it himself. Smith was undoubtedly far from insensible to the glory of first making or finding a way to the Pacific by the northwest; but if either of these captains was kept awake at night by a fear that the other would forestall him in this matter, Smith was not the man.

Finding himself outvoted, and that the undertakings which he had so strongly opposed had nevertheless become the order of the day, Smith, with greater wisdom and magnanimity than he has ever had credit for, yielded to the inevitable with a thorough good will, and decided to help heartily where he had not been able effectually to hinder. When he had urged the enmity of the savages as an obstacle to visiting at that time the South Sea, Newport had answered that the Indians had been friendly enough when he was last in Virginia, and if they were now hostile, it was in consequence of Smith's cruelties. Whereupon, Captain Smith, both to disprove this accusation and also to save time, since he, knowing the country, and the language and customs, could go and come more quickly than any one else, undertook an embassy to Powhatan, "to entreat him to come to Jamestown to receive his presents," and to undergo the ceremony of coronation as Emperor of Virginia, vassal of his Sacred Majesty James, by the grace of God King of Great Britain (a title denied him by Parliament in

rejecting the proposition of union with Scotland, but which James had assumed by authority of his royal will alone), of France (where he held not at the moment a rood of ground or maintained a single soldier), and of Ireland, then as always, rebellious to an extent which would have caused Powhatan at once to decree a general massacre, and to execute the order in person.

Newport had professed to consider it dangerous to make the journey with a less force than a hundred and twenty men; Smith took with him only four; with these he traveled overland to the Pamunkey or York, which he crossed in an Indian canoe and so came to Werowocomico.

Powhatan chancing to be absent, he was received with great rejoicing by the Indian maidens, led by Pocahontas, who entertained him with feasting and dances. If our space permitted it would be interesting at this point to inquire into the nature of these Indian dances, which are still practised by the surviving tribes, and which in modern times have been exhaustively investigated. It appears that they were of a mystical or religious character, which the English so misunderstood that grave historians speak rather slightingly of having seen Pocahontas dancing naked in the streets of Jamestown; a performance which was perhaps intended to avert the vengeance of the evil spirits from the settlers. The present ceremony was performed by about thirty young women, wearing buck's horns on their heads, their bodies painted according to taste, and clad simply in a few green

leaves as a waist cloth or apron. Some were armed with bows and arrows, others with swords, clubs or culinary utensils; they "with most hellish shouts and cries rushing from among the trees cast themselves in a ring about the fire, singing and dancing with most excellent ill variety, oft falling into their infernal passions and solemnly again to sing and dance." At the end of the dance Smith and his men had but reached the beginning of their woes, so sorely were they beset by these troublesome daughters, "crowding, pressing and hanging about him, most tediously crying, 'Love you not me? Love you not me?'"

It is to be remembered that Smith's official position was that of an adopted brave of the Powhatans; without doubt the purpose of the dance was to assist him to exercise his right of choosing a wife from the tribe. Smith, however, was as to morals a Puritan; moreover, he had not come a-courting, as the damsels perhaps had hoped, but on business of state with the "emperor."

Upon Powhatan's return the next day Smith delivered his message, to the effect that his Father Newport desired to present the gifts sent to Powhatan by the King's Majesty of England; to this end, the red monarch was invited to pay a visit to Jamestown; at which time an alliance, offensive and defensive, might also be concluded and an expedition planned against the Monacans.

Powhatan, accustomed to the niceties of Indian diplomacy, considered the whole matter a trap at

which he openly mocked; in regard to the Monacans, he was, he said, perfectly able to do his own fighting; he was magnanimously willing to receive any presents King James had sent him and would be graciously pleased to remain at Werowocomico eight days in order that Newport might there present them in person; but for any salt water beyond the mountains, dear me! who ever heard of such a thing! Wherewith, he began to draw upon the ground the map of this transmontane region as readily as ever more lettered romancer sketched his sea-bordered Bohemia.

When this answer reached the fort, it was decided to send the royal presents by water, while the two captains made the journey by land, accompanied, as much for state as for protection, by fifty picked marksmen.

The gifts consisted of a bason and ewer, a bed with its furniture, a scarlet cloak and other articles of apparel. The bed, if a genuine Elizabethan structure, with tester, feather mattress and curtains, must indeed have presented an imposing spectacle; but when it came to the reception of the crown, an unforeseen difficulty at once presented itself. For his English Majesty had strictly enjoined that his vassal should kneel to receive it; but Powhatan, who had demurred even at having the royal mantle thrown about his shoulders, and only after some persuasion from Namontack, who had returned with Newport from England, had been induced to believe that it was not after all meant to "conjure" him, now drew the line at the attitude of kneeling, which he had never practised

before God or man, and could not be expected to learn at his time of life.

At last, the two captains leaning suddenly hard upon his shoulders, he stooped a little, when three others, who were ready with the crown, set it upon his head. Then at the signal of a pistol shot, a volley was fired from the boats, greatly terrifying the old king, until, seeing no attack ensue, he recovered himself, and in requital of their kindness in the matter of the crown and the bedstead, he graciously endowed Newport with his 'coon skin mantle and half-worn moccasins. And one only hopes that Newport appreciated the fact that courtesy obliged him to put them on immediately.

A more acceptable reciprocity was about seven or eight bushels of unshelled corn; as much more was bought from the Indians; and with this unsatisfactory substitute for the twenty tons of the grain which Newport had offered to procure from this quarter, the embassage returned to Jamestown.

Some seventy or eighty persons had come in this supply, including Mistress Forrest and her maid, Anne Burras, the first white women who had arrived in the colony. Anne Burras, in the following December, was married to John Laydon; the first English marriage in Virginia.

Leaving Smith at the fort with between eighty and ninety men, Newport, with a hundred and twenty, led by Captains Waldo, Wynne, West and Percy, and Master Scrivener, set forth to discover the Northwest Passage. They marched by land some forty miles

beyond the falls, without adventure or molestation from the Monacans; nevertheless, Newport seized on one of the lesser werowances of these people, and took him along, bound, as a guide to show the way. When they had performed this great undertaking for the space of two days and a half, they turned about like the king of France in the rhyme, and marched back again. On their way they spent some time in assaying the ore procured from imaginary gold mines, having taken with them a refiner, called William Callicut, to assist in procuring the "lump of gold" already referred to. "He persuaded us to believe," says our chronicle, "he extracted some small quantity of silver;" wherewith Newport was forced to satisfy his golden hopes.

Thus reaching the falls, the Indians there amused them with a pleasant tale of Spanish ships within the bay, threatening the fort; whither accordingly they repaired as speedily as might be, minus the grain they had pledged themselves to procure, for . . . . "Trade they would not, and find their corn we could not; for they had hid it in the woods; and, being thus deluded, we arrived at Jamestown half sick, all complaining, and tired with toil, famine and discontent, to have only but discovered our gilded hopes, and such fruitless certainties as Captain Smith foretold us.

> "But those that hunger seek to slake,
> Which thus abounding wealth would rake;
> Not all the gems of Ister shore,
> Nor all the gold of Lydia's store,
> Can fill their greedy appetite,
> It is a thing so infinite."

So says one of the verses interspersed through this chronicle, which, by whomsoever written, represent very adequately Smith's attitude upon the various matters treated of by the independent contributors to the General History. He could not, it is true, foresee the course of history, or suspect the strength of the weapon which the discovery of gold would have placed in the hands of the power opposed to freedom; but he did see that Newport was setting his own interests above the welfare of the colony; and that was quite enough for him, or for any honest patriot.

CHAPTER XIX.

How They Fared at Jamestown, Captain Smith Being President.

During the progress of this unfortunate discovery which discovered nothing, Smith had been left at the fort with between eighty and ninety men, to forward as rapidly as was in his power the wishes of the Company. It is only to this period that we can ascribe the building of the "glass-house," on the other side of the isthmus, or neck of land, about half a mile from Jamestown. Excellent clay for making bricks had been one of the first discoveries on the island, and it is probable that such chimney as they were able to build to this original glass-house was of this material, though the remainder was most probably of logs. The ruins of a brick chimney certainly stood in this locality for a number of years after, and beads and fragments of glass are still picked up near its site by the curious tourist.

Immediately upon Newport's return to the fort, the hundred and twenty members of the expedition were drafted off, as promptly as possible, to their various duties; "some for glass," that is the manufacture of glass, under the direction of the skilled workers in that art already mentioned, "others for tar, pitch and soap-ashes." Tar and pitch pines were to be found

on the island or in its immediate vicinity; but the trees were scattered and less numerous than at present in proportion to the extent of the wooded lands. Mr. Bruce in his Economic History (Vol. I, p. 89), says: "The pine is principally a tree of secondary growth in this division of the State . . . . In a communication from the authorities in Virginia to the Company in London, written in 1622, the statement is made that pitch and tar could never become staple commodities of the colony, because the pines were so scattered that it would be unprofitable to bring them together." The ash, however, as we learn from the same author, "was very numerous in the vicinity of Jamestown, and was soon found to be unusually well adapted to the manufacture of soap-ashes." *

It was doubtless well to know the resources of the colony; but Smith's objection to the present experiments was that they were made at a wrong time, when all the strength of the settlers should have been directed to securing themselves against hunger and cold during the fast approaching winter. Their houses, so-called, within the fort, were merely the rudest of shelters; and we shall presently find evidence that some of them, certainly, and probably most of them, were destitute even of a chimney. But having determined to yield to necessity and obey the orders he had received, he obeyed thoroughly and heartily; and leaving some of the settlers engaged in the manner indicated and the rest to the direction of the Council at the fort, where no doubt was employment

* The Indian word Weyanoke, signifies ash-tree.

for double the number of workers remaining, Smith led a party of thirty down the river about five miles to the first American logging camp, where they were to learn to fell trees and make clapboard or wainscoting. The material used was probably chiefly cedar, of which the woods supplied a great abundance; so fine were the Virginia cedars that "they could stand a comparison with those of Lebanon, the most famous in the world, without disadvantage." (Bruce, Vol. I, p. 91-2.) In the party were the only two "gentlemen" sent out in the last supply; as to whom our chronicler only fears we shall think them degraded by this occupation. He takes pains to assure us therefore, that after they were "inured" to it, "it seemed, and some conceited it, only as a pleasure and recreation; yet thirty or forty of such voluntary gentlemen would do more in a day than a hundred of the rest that must be pressed to it by compulsion; but twenty good workmen had been better than them all."

The words show us pretty fairly both the material Smith had to work with and his methods of dealing with it; even his pressing by compulsion was chiefly the moral force of his own example, for "lodging, eating and drinking, working or playing" they did as the president did himself. All these things were carried so pleasantly as within a week they became masters, making it their delight to hear the trees thunder as they fell; but the axes so often blistered their tender fingers that many times every third blow had a loud oath to drown the echo, for remedy of which sin the president devised how to have each

man's oaths numbered, and at night for every oath to have a can of water poured down his sleeve, with which every offender was so washed (himself and all) that a man should scarce hear an oath in a week.

"For he who scorns and makes but jests of cursings and his oath,
He doth contemn, not man, but God; nor God, nor man, but both."

Not even under the blandishments of the Indian maids does Smith more clearly show the Puritan.

Meanwhile Scrivener, Wynne and Waldo, the acting members of the Council, had been equally diligent in those matters left to their charge at the fort; but Smith, returning from the woods, probably after he had gotten his men "inured" and pulling steadily in harness, and perceiving that Newport had in no wise attempted to keep his promise to attend to the provisioning of the colony, embarked with eighteen men in the discovery barge and another boat, leaving orders with the Council to send after him Captain or Lieutenant Percy with the next barge that arrived at the fort, and set forth for the Chickahominy to trade for corn. The boats were dispersed at this time in aid of the various manufactures, but Smith's orders were faithfully fulfilled by the Council.

Arriving at the Chickahominy, he found that nation averse to trade, and Smith perceived at once that Powhatan had become acquainted with their wants and had adopted the policy of starving out the unwelcome white intruders. Assuming therefore an air of thorough indifference on the question of supplies, he told the savages that he had not come to visit them

for so small a matter, but to revenge his own imprisonment and the death of his two men, Robinson and Emory, whom they had murdered. Then he landed his party and prepared to charge. The Indians took to the woods, as was their custom, not, however, for the purpose of fighting thence, for soon after they sent messengers laden with corn, fish and fowl, or whatever sort of food they had, and also with instructions to make peace and excuses. They were not at all averse to trading with their dear friend Captain Smith—oh, no! but the fact of the matter was that the harvest that year had been extremely poor, and they had scarcely corn for themselves. Nevertheless they were able to find somewhere or other a hundred bushels of the desired grain, and for Captain Percy as much as he could carry. So they parted good friends and Smith returned to Jamestown. But this was a bare mouthful for so many as there were now in the colony; therefore Master Scrivener was soon after sent with the barges and pinnace to Werowocomico, where also he found the savages more ready to fight than trade; but by his own vigilance, and the advocacy of Namontack, he succeeded in securing three or four hogsheads of corn and as many of puccoon, the red dye root, of which it was most desirable to send samples to England.

In the meantime things had again been going badly at the fort, for which our chronicler lays all the blame upon Newport and Ratcliffe. And it can hardly have been at any other instance that the absurd charge was made against the president of having violated his oath

of office by leaving the fort during his term without the consent of the Council. There was precedent enough, doubtless, had he been gentle King Jamie and they his Parliament; but Smith's friends were in the immense majority by this time, and if the charges were not dismissed as frivolous and vexatious it was because his comrades of the logging camp and others were able to find stronger language which expressed their sentiments equally well. "Their horns were so much too short to effect it, as they themselves narrowly escaped a greater mischief," says our chronicler.

It seems as though the intrepid Newport had indeed by this time gone hopelessly to the bad, and was, with his crew, deliberately engaged in the lucrative business of fleecing the colonists. Our chronicler is so indignant upon the subject, as to be a little obscure; put in plain English, the fact seems to be something like this.

Newport had certainly misrepresented to the London Council the situation of the colony as regarded provisions, and in consequence as we have already noted, had brought out the second supply without the proper stores of food. At a later date it was urged by the Virginia Council that no settler should be received in the colony without an accompanying supply of grain to last him a year. (See Bruce, Vol. I, p. 275.) This was immediately after the massacre of 1622, when the colony was at the lowest ebb that its fortunes had known since the Starving Time of 1609; a similar recommendation during Smith's administration would have been very much in place.

It is most likely that Newport half believed his own

reports on this matter, since even his own ship was so poorly provisioned that he was obliged to procure supplies from the fort for his home voyage. However, it is also possible that the sailors stole from the ship; as the colonists did from the common store at the fort, so that within six or seven weeks they had made away with two or three hundred axes, chisels and hoes; purloining these, as well as pikeheads, gunpowder, or anything they could find, to trade with the Indians for furs, baskets, young animals, or other commodities, which in turn might be exchanged with the sailors for butter, cheese, beef, pork, brandy, beer and other such matters; all which they averred when questioned — and that hungry colonists did question does not admit a doubt—had been sent them by their friends in England.

But Smith undertaking to remedy this abuse by the strong hand, gave orders to send the ship home and hold Captain Newport for a year in the colony, so that, if he had indeed misrepresented through ignorance, he might acquire a larger experience. And had not Newport cried *Peccavi*, says our chronicler, this would certainly have been done. But it remains obscure whether his confession of sin related to the misrepresentation alone or whether he were the "Master," who, though Virginia afforded no furs for the common stock, yet had accumulated a supply in this indirect manner that he afterwards sold in England for thirty pounds, about seven hundred and fifty dollars of our modern currency.

Smith was resolved to bear all this no longer; and

loading the ship with the samples of colonial manufactures and products that he had had prepared after the orders of the London Council, he requested, in polite terms no doubt, the pleasure of Captain Newport's absence, and beheld with joy the prow of the *Susan Constant* turned down stream. With her he sent a reply to the letter of rebuke that he had received. Mr. Alexander Brown doubts his reception of a letter of reprimand, and especially chokes at the idea that Smith would venture to write such an epistle as the following to the high and well-born Council in England. He bases his objection chiefly upon the title of the document; but this formed no part as will be seen of the original epistle; and if "Treasurer and Council" were the proper superscription in 1612, when the History was first published, it would have been incredibly modern had the editor preserved the orginal address. The reader shall judge whether the letter is at all likely to be an *ex post facto* creation, the sort of thing which Smith would have liked to write had he dared; or whether it bears all the marks of contemporaneous issue from the events we have endeavored to describe, thoroughly genuine and like its author; fuming with a righteous indignation which could hardly have been worked up when its cause was sixteen years old.

"The Copy of a Letter sent to the Treasurer and Council of Virginia from Captain Smith, then President in Virginia.

"Right Honorable, &c.

"I have received your letter, wherein you write that

our minds are so set upon factions and idle conceits in dividing the country without your consents; and that we feed you but with ifs and ands, hopes and some few proofs; as if we would keep the mystery of the business to ourselves: and that we must expressly follow your instructions sent by Captain Newport: the charge of whose voyage is near two thousand pounds, the which if we cannot defray by the ship's return, we are like to remain as banished men. To these particulars I humbly entreat your pardons if I offend you with my rude answer.

"For our factions, unless you would have me run away and leave the country, I cannot prevent them: because I do make many stay that would else fly anywhither. For the idle letter sent" (Arber thinks this may have been by Newport's ship in April of this year) "to my Lord of Salisbury by the President (Ratcliffe) and his confederates, for dividing the country, &c . . . . . what it was I know not, for you saw no hand of mine to it, nor ever dreamed I of any such matter.

"'That we feed you with hopes &c.' Though I be no scholar, I am past a schoolboy, and I desire to know what either you, or those here do know, but that (which) I have learned, to tell you, by the continual hazard of my life." (The Map of the Bay and Rivers, which was enclosed in this letter, was in itself a splendid refutation of the charge of making a mystery of Virginian affairs.) "I have not concealed from you anything that I know; but I fear some cause you to believe much more than is true.

"'Expressly to follow your directions by Captain Newport.'

"Though they be performed, I was directly against it; but according to our commission, I was content to be over-ruled by the major part of our Council, I fear to the hazard of us all; which now is generally confessed when it is too late. Only" (that is to say, the only commands performed successfully) "Captain Wynne and Captain Waldo I have sworn of the Council, and crowned Powhatan according to your orders.

"'For the charge of this voyage of two or three thousand pounds,' we" (the colony) "have not received the value of a hundred pounds.

"And for the quartered boat to be borne by the soldiers over the falls:—Newport had 120 of the best men he could choose. If he had burned her to ashes, one might have carried her in a bag; but as she is, five hundred cannot (carry her) to a navigable place above the falls.* And for him at that time 'to find in the South Sea a mine of gold or any of them sent by Sir Walter Raleigh:'—at our consultation I told them was as likely as the rest. But during this great discovery of thirty miles, which might as well have been done" (might have been done as well) "by one man, for the value of a pound of copper, at a seasonable time—they had the pinnace and all the boats with them, save one that remained with me to serve the fort.

"In their absence I followed the new begun works

*Stanley carried the *Lady Alice* an immensely longer distance and through greater difficulties; but he was far better equipped, and had no colony to maintain; his one errand was exploration.

of pitch and tar, glass, soap-ashes and clap-board; whereof some small quantities we have sent you. But if you rightly consider what infinite toil it is in Russia and Swethland (Sweden), where the woods are proper for naught else, and (where) though there be the help both of man and beast, in those ancient commonwealths, which many an hundred years have used it, yet thousands of those poor people can scarce get necessaries to live, but from hand to mouth. And though your factors there can buy you as much in a week as will freight you a ship, or as much as you please, you must not expect from us any such matter, which are but a many of ignorant miserable souls, that are scarce able to get wherewith to live, and defend ourselves against the inconstant savages; finding but here and there a tree, and wanting (lacking) all things else the Russians have.

"For the coronation of Powhatan, by whose advice you sent him such presents, I know not;" (*i. e.* am not officially informed); "but this give me leave to tell you, I fear they will be the confusion of us all ere we hear from you again. At your ship's arrival, the savages' corn was but newly gathered, and we going to buy it; our own not being half sufficient for so great a number. As for the two ships' loading of corn Newport promised to provide us from Powhatan, he brought us but fourteen bushels; and from the Monacans' (country), nothing; but the most of the men sick and near famished. From your ship we had not provision in victuals worth twenty pounds, and we are two hundred to live upon this; the one half

sick, the other little better. For the sailors, I confess, they daily made good cheer; but our diet is a little meal and water and not sufficient of that. Though there be fish in the sea, fowls in the air, and beasts in the woods, their bounds are so large, they so wild, and we so weak and ignorant, we cannot much trouble them. Captain Newport we much suspect to be the author of these inventions.

"Now that you should know (that) I have made you as great a discovery as he, (and) for less charge than he spendeth every meal—I have sent you this map of the bay and rivers, with an annexed relation of the countries and nations that inhabit them, as you may see at large. Also two barrels of stones, and such as I take to be good iron ore at the least; so divided, as by their notes you may see in what places I found them.

"The soldiers say" (one rather regrets that Smith should "hit back again" in the following two paragraphs, but he had certainly great provocation) "that many of your officers maintain their families out of that (which) you send us: and that Newport hath an hundred pounds a year for carrying news." (Does the captain mean tale-bearing?) "For every master you have yet sent can find the way as well as he; so that hundred pound might be spared, which is more than we have, all (together), that helps to pay him wages.

"Captain Ratcliffe is now called Sicklemore, a poor counterfeited imposture. I have sent you him home, lest the company should cut his throat. What he is

now, every one can tell you; if he and Archer return again, they are sufficient to keep us always in factions.

"When you send again, I entreat you rather send but thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers up of trees, roots" (&c.), "well-provided, than a thousand of such as we have; for except we be able both to lodge them and feed them, the most will consume with want of necessaries before they can be made good for anything.

"Notwithstanding Captain Newport's boast to have left us victual for twelve months—though we had eighty-nine by this discovery" (beyond the falls) "lame and sick, and but a pint of corn a day for a man, we were constrained to give him three hogsheads of that to victual him homeward; thus, if you please to consider this account, his wages were unnecessary, as also his ship's so long lingering and staying here, as well as the sending into Germany or Poland for glassmen and the rest, while we are not yet able to sustain ourselves, or to relieve them when they come." (This paragraph is slightly transposed and some of the propositions, etc., modernized). "It were better," (*i. e.* cheaper) "to give five hundred pounds a ton for these gross commodities in Denmark than (to) send for them hither till more necessary things be provided. For in over-toiling our weak and unskilful bodies to satisfy this desire of present profit, we can scarce ever recover ourselves from one supply to another.

"And I humbly entreat you hereafter, let us know what we should receive" (*i. e.*, send a bill of lading to

the Cape Merchant), "and not stand to" (depend upon) "the sailors' courtesy to leave us what they please; else you may charge us with what you will, but we not you with anything." (This hints at wholesale fraud on the part of either Newport or his purser.)

"These are the causes that have kept us in Virginia from laying such a foundation that (as) ere this might have given much better content and satisfaction; but as yet you must not look for any profitable returns: so I humbly rest."

That the London Company should have looked for profitable returns so early is indeed inexplicable, when we consider that it was twenty years after the founding of the Russia Company ere any profit was derived from the enterprise; and that the same persons were concerned in the management of the colony in Virginia.

CHAPTER XX.

How They Fared at Jamestown, Captain Smith Being President.

(Continued.)

It very soon became evident to the least observant among the settlers, that Smith had been perfectly right in predicting that ill was likely to follow the impolitic crowning of Powhatan. For what could that astute savage suppose, but that these costly gifts were meant to propitiate one of whom the English stood in dread? and what was he likely to do, but overvalue himself in consequence?

The fort still being only half provisioned, Smith decided to claim the four hundred bushels that had been exacted from the Indians of Nansemund; for, besides their actual need of it, it would have been a grave error to allow this indemnity to remain unpaid. The president, therefore, set forth so promptly, as soon as the departure of the ship left him unhampered by Newport's contravening authority, that he seems to have encountered Scrivener, who had just parted with Newport at Point Comfort, and to have caused him and his barge to join the supply expedition. It proved well that the English had gone in such force; for the people of Nansemund were of the same mind as those of Werowocomico; refusing to trade, denying

the pledged indemnity, alleging in excuse that most of their stores were already consumed, and that the orders of Powhatan were to reserve what was left for their own support, and to keep the English out of their river.

It was not, we must remember, a commercial matter, as had been the recent journey to Werowocomico; but one of indemnity for an unprovoked attack upon peaceful travelers, with whom their head war-chief, Powhatan, was then upon friendly terms; by all the laws of warfare, civilized and uncivilized, Smith was fully justified in considering that this answer renewed the suspended hostilities. Accordingly he sent a volley of musket-shot among them, whereupon they all fled to cover; and a judicious torch, applied to an outlying wigwam, brought them to an immediate parley, and produced a supply of corn, which they solemnly averred to be half of their stock. Whether it were so or no, Smith contented himself with it and returned down the river, exacting first a promise from the Nansemunds to plant an extra field or so the next spring in order to pay the remainder of their ransom.

It was now pretty cold weather, and to keep themselves warm at night, our adventurers, when they camped ashore, were accustomed to thaw out the frozen ground by a huge fire; then to sweep away the embers and lie on the warm spot between two mats of native manufacture; repeating the operation when the place on which they lay grew chilled. This seems to have agreed with all the party, for our chron-

icler remarks that those who went upon these expeditions " were always in health, lusty and fat."

On their return to the fort a very pleasant festivity broke the monotony of hardship. Mrs. Forrest's maid, Anne Burras, was married to John Leyden, an event already noted as the first English marriage in Virginia. It was hailed with delight as giving permanence to the settlement; and despite the ill augury that might have been supposed to follow the name, the first child of this fourteen-year-old bride was a year later christened Virginia. Her fate was happily very different from that of her namesake, Virginia Dare; both parents and child survived the Starving Time, and were thriving and well-to-do in 1625. Whether any of their descendents are still living is not known.

Smith tarried sufficiently long at the fort to give the sanction of his official presence to the marriage; then the paramount issue of the empty larder drove him forth again into the wilds. At Appomattox the natives themselves seemed to be really poor in foodstuffs; they consented, however, to trade with the English for half of what they had, and Smith returned to the fort only partly consoled by the fact that this was another newly discovered river; the queen of Appomattox they had met at the court of King Powhatan, but this was their first visit to her domains.

After an ineffective effort of Scrivener and Percy to obtain supplies, Smith lost patience, and aware that Powhatan's exactions kept his tributaries at a low ebb in the matter of food, while the storehouses of Werowocomico were full to bursting; knowing also that

that treacherous ally had resolved to starve out his white fathers, he proposed to Captain Waldo to surprise the town and take what provisions they needed by force. But the project when it came before the Council was defeated by Wynne and Scrivener, the latter of whom seems to have joined Smith's opponents since the reception of certain letters from England which could have been brought only by Newport's ship. Our chronicler (Smith's Works, p. 460), says that these letters urged Scrivener "to make himself Cæsar or nothing"; it is quite probable that the comparatively humble birth of Smith was used to make his colleagues "think scorn" of his being in authority over them. But be this as it may, the opposition in Council to the proposed disciplining of Powhatan had much show of reason in the very certain displeasure it would arouse in the peace party at home.

At precisely this juncture there arrived an embassy from the red "emperor," desiring from his dear son, Captain Smith, workmen to build him a house to contain his bedstead, and also a grindstone, fifty swords, some muskets, a cock and a hen, with much copper and beads. In return for all this, if Captain Smith would come in person to visit him he would load his ship with corn.

The trap was evident, and Smith perfectly aware of it; but, says our chronicle, "no persuasions could induce him to starve," a contingency which was, nevertheless, so close upon all the colony, that he was even glad to provide for some of his people by quartering them on Powhatan. He sent, therefore, by land with

the returning embassy, three Germans and two Englishmen, who were to build the desired palace for Powhatan, and likewise to find out as much as possible of his true temper and turn of mind toward the colony; Smith himself with forty-six men, all volunteers, embarked in the pinnace and two barges, leaving directions with Captain Waldo to come to his aid with reinforcements, under certain contingent circumstances, and appointing Scrivener, whose disaffection he had not begun to suspect, his substitute in the presidency. The enterprise was recognized by all as a forlorn hope; and its hazardous character was not lessened by the fact, which also was universally accepted, that Smith would never return empty-handed. In consequence, many of those whom he had first appointed to go with him made excuses to remain at home; but no terrors could shake the fidelity of the gallant forty-six, which included Captain Percy, brother, as we know to the earl of Northumberland, and Francis West, brother to Lord Delaware; over whom was set "John Smith, this English gentleman," the son of a simple, God-fearing English yeoman.

At Warraskoyack the party, who were victualled but for two or three days, stopped to take in supplies, and here the werowance warned Smith openly against the wiles of Powhatan, cautioning him in especial not to allow the red emperor to lay hands on the weapons of the English. Smith thanked him, and to test his sincerity desired of him a guide to Chawwonock, from which quarter there seem to have come fresh

rumors in relation to the long-lost colonists of Roanoke. Warraskoyack complying, Michael Sicklemore, a very valiant, honest and painful soldier, was detailed for the quest, with directions if he could not find the Raleigh colonists at any rate to bring back some silk grass, which was much used by the Indians in weaving belts and other articles, and which it was supposed might give rise to a desirable line of colonial manufacture. It is thus quite apparent that Smith was by no means convinced that Powhatan would come off first best in case of hostilities.

With a full supply of provisions, he set sail from Warraskoyack and the next day reached Kecoughtan; here the extreme cold with a storm of wind and rain detained them for several days. It was now the 31st of December, which was still within the Christmas season. Smith and his party therefore "kept Christmas among the savages, where we were never more merry, nor fed on more plenty of good oysters, fish, flesh, wild fowl and good bread; nor never had better fires in England than in the dry, smoky houses of Kecoughtan."

Departing thence as soon as the weather permitted, they reached Werowocomico on January 12th after plenty of hardship, but in good spirits and courage. The river was frozen about a half mile out from shore, but Smith led a party of waders through mud and ice and then, sending the barge for safety back to the pinnace, he with his few companions quartered themselves in some empty wigwams and coolly sent messengers to Powhatan for provisions.

In reply the wily chieftain sent plenty of bread, turkeys and venison; but when the question of trade came up the next day at the council fire it was discovered that the astute old operator believed himself to have cornered the market so effectually that the price of corn had risen to one English sword per bushel basket. At the same time he asked when the English intended to return home; he had not sent for them, neither could he afford to feed them; to trading at the price mentioned he was not averse, but bulk for bulk, he preferred corn to copper, since he could eat one and could not eat the other.

Smith was quick to understand the situation; he pointed out to this forgetful gentleman the Indians who had brought the invitation which he so conveniently "disremembered" sending, and the partly built new house which Smith's own workmen had begun to put up; but when this had no effect, except a renewed offer to trade for weapons, and for these only, he took a higher tone, and assured Powhatan that he had come to Werowocomico to seek food only because he had been particularly invited to do so; that he had spared workmen from his own necessary building merely to oblige his ally; and that as for parting with anything in the shape of a weapon to procure provision, it would be very foolish indeed to do so when he could so readily use his guns and swords to get the corn, and have them also afterwards.

This very plain hint was perfectly understood, and there ensued a trial of skill between the two diplomats, Powhatan seeking, with smooth words, to induce

Smith to dispense with weapons which were so very needless among such dear friends, and the latter assuring his kind father Powhatan that such was not the English custom; as well might he expect them to go without their clothes as their muskets; had the red men, on their visits to the fort, ever been requested to dispense with their bows and arrows?

Perhaps the cases were not entirely similar, but Powhatan had no answer ready, though he was indeed more strongly entrenched in his position than the honest-hearted captain suspected. For the Germans whom he had sent to build for his treacherous host had found themselves so much more comfortable among the well-warmed houses of Werowocomico, with turkey, venison, and corn bread galore, than in the draughty, famine-stricken log cabins of the fort, that they looked upon the destruction of the colony, under these circumstances, as a foregone conclusion, and had resolved to make friends with the savages and save their own miserable lives by betraying their comrades. Hence Smith's affectation of not caring whether he made his trade or no, and of being in a position to obtain all the corn he wanted elsewhere, did not deceive his opponent in the least. Powhatan was in full possession, through the treachery of the Germans, of the exact situation at Jamestown.

For a day or so the powwow continued, Powhatan affecting to wait until perhaps supplies might be brought in from the surrounding country, and Smith really trying to gain time before coming to blows, so that the remainder of his party might come to his assistance,

for he had but eighteen with him ashore. It was also essential, if they were to obtain food, to have the pinnace at hand to receive it. He therefore set relays of savages at work to break up the ice in the river and tow her in, and sent orders for immediate reinforcements; meanwhile, to keep Powhatan in play, he promised him that on the next day he would send away his guns and trust to the red king's faith and friendship.

Powhatan seems to have known, or suspected, that more Englishmen were about to land, and, leaving two or three women talking with Smith, he also sent for reinforcements, and himself and all his house took to the woods. Smith was alone in the wigwam, except for the company of Dr. Russell, but on finding it unexpectedly surrounded by savages, he made a sudden sortie, shooting and laying about him with such vigor that they gave ground immediately, and he regained his men without difficulty.

Upon this there came a messenger from Powhatan with a gift of wampum, stating that his flight and the summoning of so many warriors had nothing to do with Captain Smith himself, but merely with his men, whom Powhatan feared Smith might not be able to prevent from injuring him and stealing his goods; now, therefore, that the river was open, would this excellent English captain kindly take his corn and go? And the Indians would not only provide baskets, but would guard the guns while their dear friends loaded the boat! A hint from Smith's men, backed by the sight of their leveled guns and smoking matches, was sufficient to reverse the proposed order of things; and

it was the English who faithfully guarded the Indian bows and arrows, while the red men filed sullenly to the boat, each with a basket of corn on his back. It proved impossible, however, to get away that night, and so the Englishmen returned to their former quarters, where the Indians supplied them with food, and made them all the merry sport they could devise.

But when the sports were ended Pocahontas came stealthily through the darkness, and this time saved Captain Smith at very real and earnest peril to herself, for she warned him that Powhatan was plotting his death, supposing that, if he could kill him, the destruction of the rest at Jamestown would be an easy matter; that presently an ample supper would be sent him, but those who would bring it were charged to fall upon him if they could part him from his guns; if not, Powhatan himself, with every warrior he could command, would presently surround the house and overwhelm the little band of English by sheer force of numbers. Smith, to show his gratitude, would have rewarded her with trinkets such as she had formerly shown a liking for; but, with the tears running down her face, she assured him that if she were in any way to betray that she had warned the English, her father would kill her with his own hand. "And so she ran away by herself, as she came."

Within the hour came "eight or ten lusty fellows," with great platters of venison and very delicate stomachs, most unpleasantly affected by the smoking slow-matches of the English matchlocks. But Smith not only refused to extinguish these, in deference to

their qualms, but, to guard against poison, forced the messengers to partake of every dish; which done, he sent them back to their chief with the message that he might come as soon as he liked; Smith was ready for him.

This message effectually prevented the threatened attack, but all through the night straggling parties of Indians would look in upon them at odd times "to see what news, and after them others." So they wore away the hours till highwater, when they embarked and parted, all apparently on the best of terms. So much so, indeed, that they left one of their number to shoot wild fowl for Powhatan, and the Germans to finish his house. They did not even yet suspect the treachery of the latter, and intended to pick up these members of the party on their return from Pamunkey, when, as they hoped, the frost would be gone and their own chances better in case they were forced into open hostilities.

No sooner had the Powhatan seen Smith's back than he sent his German friends post haste to Jamestown, where a lying message from the president procured them a new supply of weapons, change of apparel, tools and other matters, which were likely to be of considerable service to their new master. They likewise, by representing the certain destruction which was about to fall upon the colony, obtained the assistance of six or seven of their countrymen as allies of the Indians within the fort, and themselves returned to Werowocomico with such ample supplies that the two Englishmen whom Smith had left there took the

alarm, and endeavored to escape and carry a warning both to him and to endangered Jamestown, a futile effort which only resulted in their being held close prisoners.

Smith meanwhile had gone on to Pamunkey, where Opechancanough, the yet more astute brother of the sagacious Powhatan, entertained him for several days with feasting and much mirth.

But when it came to trading he proved to be of the same mind with his brother; for he held his corn so high that Smith told him to his face that he did it for mere deceit; whereupon he obtained a small supply on reasonable terms. But the old chief was postponing his attack until all his men should have come in; for on the next day, Smith with his faithful fifteen marched to the king's hut where they found several men with large baskets, and Opechancanough wreathed in smiles, pointing out the pains he had taken to satisfy his English friends. In the midst of the conversation, in rushed Dr. Russell, crying out that the house was surrounded by at least seven hundred savages, and they were all betrayed. The king suspecting what news had arrived by this agitated messenger, allowed his disturbance to become visible on his countenance; whereupon, as some of the Englishe were dismayed at the idea of facing such odds, Smith made them an oration, asking their advice upon the best course to be pursued under the circumstances. He was not at all afraid, he said, of any number the savages could bring against him; what troubled him was the Council at home, who were simply wait-

ing an opportunity to call him to account for peace-breaking and breach of orders. He only wished they were there in his place, he should so much like to know what they themselves would do about it. In the meantime, however, how were those present to manage to save themselves, punish this treacherous king, and secure a supply of provisions? Any one of the three things would be easy enough by itself; but he wanted to do all of them together. If the worst came to the worst, he was confident the very smoke from their muskets would clear away the whole band of Indians; but with their approval he would try negotiations before it came to that point.

Then turning to the king, he defied him then and there to single combat; the lists to be an island in the river, Smith to lay aside his defensive armor; and each Indian to bring with him a basket of corn, against which Smith would stake the value in copper; the conqueror in the duel to take everything in sight.

Opechancanough smilingly put aside Smith's unkind suspicion of him, and as a proof of his fidelity, pointed to a "great present" at the door, which he was entreated to come out and receive. "The bait," says our chronicler, was guarded with at least two hundred men, and thirty lying behind a huge felled tree, each with his arrow ready to let fly the moment Smith appeared.

The president ordered a private soldier to go out and see what sort of a present they had made ready for him; on the man refusing—though such as he would have been perfectly safe when the Indians were

on a still hunt after big game—Smith grew decidedly warm. It would have been too great a risk to send one of his officers and certain death to go himself; there was only one thing possible. Smith obeyed the spirit of the unwritten frontier law, to "shoot straight, and shoot first." With a sudden leap to where Opechancanough believed himself safe in the midst of about forty or more of his biggest warriors, he seized the old sinner by his scalp-lock and held a pistol to his heart. He had beforehand given each officer his station and his orders, and now "he led the trembling king, near dead with fear, among his people"; which potent argument easily procured him all the corn he needed.

His troubles were, nevertheless, not at an end; for only a few hours after as he lay asleep, worn out with fatigue and watching, an attempt was made upon his life which was disconcerted by his sudden awaking.

He had after all slept long enough; for there was heavy news awaiting him. Three or four days previous, Master Richard Wyffin had volunteered to bring tidings to the absent president of what had gone wrong at the fort, and after considerable wandering out of the way had reached Werowocomico, where he found Smith gone, and such evident preparations for war that he suspected there was something amiss. He would have had even stronger reason to think so.but for Pocahontas, who hid him, dispatched those who came to look for him on a wrong scent, and when the coast was clear, sent him on his way to Pamunkey. Now, by his word it appeared that Scrivener, cor-

rupted by the letters received from England to which reference has been made, had persuaded Captain Waldo, in direct neglect of the president's orders, to go with him to visit Hog Island, as it was called, where the swine brought from the West Indies had already surprisingly multiplied. So he set out with Anthony Gosnold and eight others, most probably bent on a longer voyage than was given out. For our chronicler hints that Scrivener's intention was in some manner to cross Smith's plans; it is most probable that he persuaded first himself and then others, that Smith meant to carry out his first warlike proposition, in regard to Powhatan, and that it would be very wrong of them to allow the innocent, guileless old monarch to be taken by surprise. But if he were bound for Werowocomico on such a traitor's errand, the elements were again on the side of Smith, whose destruction, with that of the colony, would have been secured by his arrival there. He had set out in the teeth of a storm of wind and rain, and some days later the drowned bodies of himself and his companions were found by the Indians, who were greatly encouraged thereby in the prosecution of their own evil designs.

Smith on hearing this swore Wyffin to silence; his faithful fifteen had quite sufficient already to dispirit them. That night he embarked with all his men, leaving Opechancanough at liberty, lest his capture should scare away Powhatan, whom he meant to seize on his return, and in some manner make an example of. Powhatan, on his side, was equally determined

to bag Captain Smith; he had said to some of his braves, "His life or yours," by way of spurring them on to renewed efforts. These accordingly had appointed on the next day that all the country round should come and trade; hoping by this means to lure him on shore, yet fearing almost equally his keenness to detect their treachery, and the magic weapons wherewith he was able to punish them. When the president beheld the shore covered with such multitudes of people, each with his basket of corn, all refusing to trade except with himself in person, and every one flying instanter from the sight of a gun, he was far too wise to walk open-eyed into a trap, yet, unwilling to lose the provision he so much needed, he planned a little ambuscade of his own. Then, going on shore with but three companions, he so cleverly led them on, as to draw the king himself under the muskets of the ambushed soldiers; whereupon, without a shot fired, Smith was able to retire to the barge, carrying off his provision in triumph.

He had them now so thoroughly frightened that the next day the king sent a "chain of pearl," with promises of all the corn he could carry if he would wait five or six days. It came in good earnest, some of it poisoned; happily no one was hurt seriously, though the president, Master West, and some others were made rather ill; but the inexpert poisoner rather unwisely boasting of the deed, Smith gave him a sound thrashing with a few kicks thrown in, but scorned to take a more serious vengeance.

There was really very little corn to be had, except at Werowocomico itself; for the winter had been severe, and Powhatan's exactions were heavy. In October, but for that unhappy discovery, which discovered nothing, they could have freighted a ship of forty tons burden, and obtained twice as much more from other directions, says our chronicler bitterly.

Reaching Werowocomico, they found that Powhatan had fled with his Dutchmen and provisions, while those he had left behind were in such evil tempers that Smith's party only thought how to escape with their lives.

Some days before they had sent a message to Captain Wynne, now in command at the fort; the barge had encountered, about half way between Powhatan's residence and Jamestown, another boat containing some of those whom the treacherous Germans had corrupted. These, to disarm suspicion, when thus intercepted on their treacherous errand, turned back to the fort, no doubt accounting for their presence in some convenient fashion.

To the fort Smith himself now determined to repair. There was evidently nothing more to be gained by staying, and their revenge on Powhatan could await a more convenient season. In the voyage they had expended twenty-five pounds of copper and fifty of iron and beads, in exchange for which they had had all this while free rations for forty-six men for six weeks (*i. e.*, from December 29th, 1608, to February 8th, 1609), each of the forty-six having for his reward another month's rations on the understanding that no

trade except with the common store would be permitted. To this common store, under the direction of the Cape Merchant, they turned over 479 bushels of corn and nearly two hundredweight of deer suet.

Moreover, not a single man was hurt or sick. Therefore the expedition can scarcely be said to have been a failure; but it is very apologetically that our chronicler closes his record, "these temporizing proceedings" being not at all to his taste. We, who read it at this distance of time, must wonder yet more than he at the contrast with the blood-stained Spanish records, at the doing and discovering so much, and bringing the Indians into such obedience, with such magnificent self-restraint and such entire absence of cruelty or unkindness.

CHAPTER XXI.

OF "THE JUSTICE OF GOD ON THOSE DUTCHMEN"; WITH OTHER CHEERFUL MATTERS.

THE "common kettle" at the fort during the president's absence had been unusually ill-supplied, since all their grain, except that newly procured from the savages, was so rotten with the rains of the last summer and so injured by rats and worms that the very hogs, we are told, would have scorned it. On such a diet as this the garrison had naturally been able to do little but exist, but now, taking stock of all that they had, it appeared to be sufficient to last until the next harvest, whereupon their minds were free to think of other matters.

The president's object was to get the greatest amount of work out of the greatest number, for it is quite evident that the fundamental mistake of the colony was its communistic organization. And it may be worth while for those interested in communistic experiments to note the obvious lesson that such an organization presupposes for its success, rather a high degree of moral and spiritual development, and that if it were possible to destroy at a blow all rights of private property and all authority, and to trust to the sense of duty of each man to every other for the security and happiness of the community, the

result would be, at the state of development which at this present time we seem to have reached, not very unlike that which we find in the colony of Virginia.

As an old soldier and a practical man of affairs Smith knew very well that the one remedy which he was able to apply was stringent military discipline, and he applied it forthwith and with the strong hand. Occupations were apportioned and hours of work and of recreation laid off—quite wisely, as it seems to one observer at a distance of nearly three centuries; idlers were warned that the ancient law, "He that will not work neither shall he eat," fitted their case to a dot; but for the encouragement of well-doers Smith ordered posted in a public place a bulletin each day "of every man's deserts. . . . By this many became very industrious, yet more by punishment performed their business, for all were so tasked that there was no excuse could prevail to deceive him."

But meanwhlle the Dutchmen who had remained with Powhatan, and whose evil names are recorded as Adam, Francis, and Samuel, maintained intercourse with their confederates in the fort, through whom was kept up a vexatious petty thievery, which even Smith's vigilance was unable to detect. They were also occupied in teaching the warriors of Powhatan, who was then at Oropaks, about fifty miles away, the use of the English weapons; nor did their villainy stop even there, for, entering into a conspiracy to capture Smith, one of their number, disguised as a savage (and an astonishing figure he must have made!) was seen lurking near the glass-house, which served them

as a convenient rendezvous. Smith, hearing of this fellow, went with twenty men to the glass-house to apprehend him, but finding him fled, sent his men hot-foot after, to capture him if possible, himself returning alone to the fort. The distance was about a mile, and what path there was lay through the thick woodland, in which our captain would have felt less easy than he did had he been aware that forty stout savages were hidden near by, in a convenient "ambuscado," as a decoy duck from whom came presently the king of Paspahegh, politely requesting Smith to step aside with him for just a little minute, one knows not on what pretext; but finding the president too wary, Paspahegh, noting the absence of the dreaded "fire-stick," and that he was armed only with a sword, suddenly drew bow, upon which Smith grappled with him at once, in such a manner as to prevent the shot, though he himself was equally hindered from using his sword.

A very pretty little wrestling match they had of it until the savage forced Smith into the water, where, after a further struggle, Smith got the better of him, and carried him a prisoner to Jamestown. Meanwhile the "twenty shot" had captured the Dutchman Francis, who, when examined by Captain Wynne, made such long excuses, all in one sentence, with the verbs as cleverly hidden as Paspahegh's ambuscado, that no one at the fort could make out his meaning. But from Paspahegh's testimony, the man's treachery appeared so clearly that he was held as a prisoner; Smith intending to obtain his fellow conspirators in exchange for Paspahegh. But the Germans, being far

too shrewd for this, stolidly refused to leave Oropaks; whence Powhatan's warriors professed with some truth to be unable to carry them on their backs through the woods; and while matters were at this deadlock, Paspahegh, through careless watching, made his escape, and so all fell to the ground.

But this state of affairs was unbearable; Smith saw that the savages needed a lesson; and after a vain attempt to recapture Paspahegh, which resulted in the taking of two prisoners, (of whom more presently), he sent out a party of fifty under Captain Wynne and Lieutenant Percy to avenge his injuries on the tribe. Kemps and Tussore, the two prisoners, who would have betrayed "both king and kindred for a piece of copper," offered their assistance, but Smith scorning to take advantage by their treachery, and Wynne failing to obey the orders he had received, the only punishment inflicted was the burning of the king's house, wherewith the party returned to the fort.

Smith now took the field in person, and attacked the Paspahegh village, killing six or seven, taking as many prisoners, and burning all their wigwams, capturing all their boats and their fishing weirs, which latter he set at Jamestown for the benefit of the colony. The lesson was not over severe, as is readily seen by contrast with some expeditions of the New England settlers against the savages; but it was effectual; the Paspaheghs made peace and continued good friends until Smith left the colony.

But it now appeared that the Chickahominy Indians needed medicine; all this while they had pretended

friendship, while maintaining a systematic thievery. Among other things a pistol had been stolen, and as the actual thief had vanished, Smith laid by the heels his two brothers as accomplices. One of these was sent after the pistol, which was to be returned within twelve hours on pain of hanging to the prisoner; during which time, as the weather was severe, the president ordered a pan of charcoal to be placed in the chimneyless hut which contained the captive.

Alas! charcoal has properties of its own, which are accentuated by the absence of windows and chimneys! When the envoy returned, faithfully bringing the pistol, the unfortunate captive was found asphyxiated and badly burned into the bargain, having perhaps inhaled too much of the fumes as he stooped over the charcoal for warmth. Smith, discovering that life was not extinct, managed with brandy and vinegar to revive him, and afterwards healed his burns, whereupon there went a rumor among the Indians that this big medicine white man could even raise the dead.

Another accident, which befell soon after, helped materially to strengthen his prestige. An Indian who had seen the settlers drying at the fire gunpowder that had become dampened, tried the process himself, with the result of an explosion fatal to himself and several others, to whom he had been exhibiting his extraordinary skill. After this occurrence a wholesome terror of this English conjure-work came upon the savages; any werowance who detected this "bad medicine" in the hands of his people, both punished the offense himself, and sent the stolen goods back to

Jamestown; and the lesser men among them, if detected by the soldiers in that peculation which they seemed unable to resist, would beg to be beaten for it at once, rather than to be sent to their own chiefs for punishment. Thus Smith had done his work among the Indians; almost wholly without bloodshed he had made Virginia absolutely safe for the English; except, that, as we shall see, his work was speedily undone by those who followed him.

But at present all went smoothly, with the fighting over and as was supposed plenty of provisions in store. In three months, counting from Smith's return from Werowocomico, there were made three or four "last," each, of tar, pitch and soap ashes; an excellent specimen of glass was produced by the perfidious Dutchmen; a much needed well of sweet water was dug within the fort, which till then could not have stood a long siege for lack of this necessary; some twenty houses were built; the church had a new roof; nets and weirs were provided for fishing; thirty or forty acres were cleared and ploughed; and the first American block-house was built on the isthmus connecting the little peninsula with the mainland. Here a garrison was maintained; and to stop the thievery of which he had become painfully aware, Smith ordered that all trading with the natives should take place at this point, and "that none should pass or repass, savage or Christian, without the president's order." The live stock of the colony was as flourishing as the Christians; for from three sows, they had now more than sixty pigs, and nearly five hundred

chickens had "brought up themselves," and found their food in the woods.

To get everything into order the pigs were sent to Hog Island; after which, Smith, who was a good soldier and also believed in keeping his men employed, began to build another fort upon a high commanding hill, to which retreat might be made in case that at Jamestown became untenable. Before this, another block-house had been erected upon Hog Island to warn the garrison of any attack from the river quarter;* for it will be remembered that the colony had always the fear of the Spaniard before its eyes; knowing better the will of that nation than its inability to do them harm.

Work on the third block-house was brought to a sudden close by a sad discovery. Rats seem to have made their first entrance into Virginia in the English ships; and during all these months they had so increased and multiplied that, as was now found, they had consumed nearly all the corn that had been brought in at such risk. The remainder was half-rotten; for in that locality it would indeed have been a problem to keep it dry; so that the settlers were again at their wits' end and in immediate straits for food.

Smith had not amid his other occupations neglected to provide for the future; on the contrary, the first corn planting had come to pass in English Virginia, under his auspices that very spring. Kemps and Tussore, their Indian prisoners, whom he trusted only

*See Appendix A.

enough to allow them to work, somewhat, perhaps, after the fashion of a chain-gang, had been ordered to show the Indian methods of planting the maize; and that they did so faithfully is rather likely, since the same rule, of four grains to a hill, is followed in Virginia unto this day. Now, when the colony itself lacked food, these prisoners were set at liberty and told to feed themselves; but so well they liked their quarters at Jamestown as to object to leaving it; and moved by them the neighboring Indians brought in, for sixteen days, at least a hundred a day of "squirrels, turkeys, deer and other wild beasts."

But this provision was hardly, among so many, a mouthful apiece; while at this time of the year even Powhatan's supply of grain was too low to permit him to trade. Smith, therefore, divided up his mouths, sending some sixty or eighty down the river to live upon oysters; and another party of twenty, under Percy, to fish for themselves at Point Comfort. Percy had unfortunately, probably after leaving the fort, been hurt in an explosion of gunpowder; and his men utterly refused to do any fishing, though how they lived without it for the six weeks of their stay, our chronicle fails to record. West, with another party, was sent to the falls where he found no food but a few acorns; Smith remained at the fort with the rest.

There seems to have been all this while a nucleus among the colonists of honest, brave, trustworthy soldiers, in number about thirty-eight or forty, upon whom their gallant leader could implicitly rely. It is this body of ironclads to whom he refers in speaking

of the thirty-eight who with him kept the colony; some of their names are appended to the General History, others are lost to the gratitude of the nation which they thus founded. And it is probably to the same body of men that our chronicler now refers in saying that "until this present, by the hazard and endeavors of some thirty or forty, this whole colony had ever been fed." But for thirty or forty to go to Werowocomico after corn for the rest was one thing; for the same number to gather in the sorts of food to which they were now reduced was quite another, and Smith again applied the strong hand, prefacing it with one of those orations which seem to have possessed the essential quality of going right to the spot.

Food of a sort there was in plenty; sturgeon in the river, tockwogh roots in the marshes, wild fruits of all sorts in the woods, for it was now late spring, but some of these viands required considerable labor to prepare; in especial, the tockwogh, a kind of manioc, was poisonous unless treated very carefully. Smith reminded the recalcitrants that if they themselves preferred to starve rather than work they might in justice be compelled to labor for those who until then had fed them. There was no doubt, he said, that the "savage fruits" of which they complained as food would "disgest" all right if once it got into their stomachs; at all events he proposed to give it a fair trial. They could see for themselves that his was the only authority in the colony (Scrivener and Waldo having been drowned, as we have seen, and Wynne was dead, shortly before the beginning of the hard

times); therefore they could understand that he would carry out all that he threatened. He meant to set the example in gathering food for all in the colony, particularly the sick, and any man in health who gathered not in one day as much as himself should on the next be deported across the river, and not allowed to return to the fort until he should "amend his condition or starve." In the latter case the humane president would probably have brought back the remains to give them Christian burial.

This brisk way of talking, though some murmured against it as cruel, caused the colonists so to bestir themselves, says our chronicler, that out of two hundred in the fort only about seven died, and these not from starvation, but possibly because the makeshift diet did not agree with their already delicate condition.*

Some of his men Smith billeted among the savages, who were now in such wholesome dread of the English that from this there rose a pleasant jest. For those thus quartered fared so well in the matter of food that some of the disaffected, hoping thus to establish a claim on native Virginian hospitality for themselves, ran away from the fort and hunted up the former prisoners, Kemps and Tussore, to whom they offered an opportunity to revenge their captivity on the president. But those two unreliable Indians instead of jumping at this proposition made sport of the runaways, improvising

*It has already been pointed out that one of the seven was probably the Rev. Robert Hunt.

an amateur chain-gang to show their friends how they themselves had been treated at Jamestown, and enforcing, with abundant beatings, Smith's law that those who would not work should not eat.

And when by this rule the runaways were on the borders of starvation, those two honest heathen led them back to Jamestown. No wonder that our chronicler says there was more hope to make good Christians and good subjects of these than of half of those who counterfeited themselves both.

Smith's anxiety to recover some trace of the lost colonists of Roanoke was only what was felt by all good Christian Englishmen at that time; but there is no doubt that his success in that matter would have materially affected his standing with the London Council. But it was not to be. Sicklemore, whom as the reader remembers, he had sent to North Carolina, seems to have returned at about the period at which we have now arrived; and Nathaniel Powell and Anas Todkill, two of the faithful thirty-eight, who visited the Mangoags on a similar quest, were equally unsuccessful.

It had become a point of honor to regain the Dutchmen who had turned traitor; and no one was louder in denouncing them or readier in offering his services to punish them than a countryman of theirs, at least in insular British estimation, for in reality he was a Swiss, whose name was William Waldo. But this person being permitted to go and come freely between Jamestown and Oropaks, and conveying to the traitors all that they desired to aid in their project of destroying

the colony, a plot was soon hatched among them to bring into the field the tribe of the Powhatans; and many of those in the fort, who were tired of Smith's stern rule, joined the conspiracy. Happily, it was betrayed in good season by two called Mallard and Dowse; but Smith's desire to allow the thing to take its course and then take all the conspirators red-handed was frustrated, For a whisper of the matter having got abroad, Smith's thirty-eight were neither to hold nor to bind, but every man of them was ready to go at once to Oropaks, and cut their Dutch throats under Powhatan's very eyes. Under this pressure, Smith gave permission to Richard Wyffin, and Sergeant Jeffrey Abbot, since these Germans refused to appear before him and plead their cause like men, to go and execute justice on them as outlaws wherever found. It was an extreme measure, but scarcely an unusual one under the circamstances. But the Germans being found so protested their own innocence and accused Waldo, whom they supposed to have betrayed them, that Abbot refused to execute them, though Wyffin "perceived that it was but deceit." So again the Dutchmen were lucky enough to escape.

While this business was in hand, there arrived a ship from England, under the command of one whose name was to be, from thenceforth, connected for good or ill, with the Jamestown colony. This name was that of Captain Argall, who came now with a stock of such things as it was supposed the colonists would require, to trade for whatever they might happen to

have on hand, preferably gold or jewels. It was a strictly private enterprise, fitted out by a certain Master Cornelius; and it brought news of an important alteration in the plans and the very constitution of the London Company, into the details of which we shall go more fully in a subsequent chapter. There were also tidings of great preparations on foot for a relief expedition under Lord Delaware, or de la War, and last but not least, there were letters for Smith, severely condemning him for cruelty to the Indians, as well as for indolence, or a worse fault, in neglecting to freight the ships with those treasures with which Virginia was popularly believed to overflow.

It is a little curious, certainly, to note Smith's reply, both by action and word. As calmly as though he had had the whole English nation at his back, with King James at its head, he requisitioned all that the ship contained for the use of the starving colony; then he re-victualled her, to the best of his ability, for the return voyage, and sent Argall back (though not until after the arrival of the third supply), with letters explanatory of the presence of starvation and the absence of gold and silver. But explanations instead of treasure! The loss of a whole cargo, when he had expected a gain of many hundred per cent! Master Cornelius is most unlikely to have listened to anything like reason.

As for the Dutchmen, Smith and his confidants still affected a full confidence in Waldo; hoping perhaps that at some future time he might do something unwary which would excuse a righteous vengeance.

Adam had been pardoned and allowed to return; but the other German, Samuel, remained with Powhatan, it may be as an anchor to windward for the conspirators, who had begun to cherish a sort of belief in the possible survival of the colony but were very far from certain about it.

Meanwhile, the London Company had as we have indicated been reorganized; and the very commission under which Smith held his authority had been called in without the formality of a notice to him in his transatlantic exile. The officers appointed under the new commission were fortunate enough to inspire the public with confidence which freely untied its purse strings;* and the new expedition was started on a magnificent footing. There were nine ships fitted out, containing in all about five hundred people; the chief in command were Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers and our old friend Captain Newport, newly appointed vice-admiral of Virginia. But the original cause of strife on the first voyage does not seem to have been absent from this one, though there was no Bluebeard's box aboard to excite their mutual jealousy; for these three captains, says our chronicler, unwilling that any one of them should have such preeminence as might be conferred by a voyage on the flag-ship, while his colleages were transported on a vessel of less honor, went all together with all their three commissions on the *Sea Venture.* Out of

* See "English Politics" by Alex. Brown. There is no doubt that the "patriot" or Puritan party were coming to the front in Virginian affairs.

which the hand of Providence brought some good to the colony of Virginia.

They set sail from England in May, and almost immediately began the course of "bad luck" which was to follow this "third supply" to the end. For one of their small vessels perished at sea in a hurricane; and by the same storm the remaining seven ships were separated from the well-commissioned flag-ship, which carried also their bills of lading, their orders — exceedingly minute ones, hints our chronicler—and the greater part of the stores for the colony.

This fortunate seven, despite the absence of Newport, made the remainder of the voyage successfully, and arrived safely at Jamestown Island. In command of three of the vessels were Smith's old enemies Ratcliffe, Martin and Archer; Martin, however, was merely a tool of the other two, and seems to have usually agreed with his latest interlocutor; but they who had formerly so stirred up strife at the fort, when they now believed that the flag-ship, the three officials and the authority with which they had been returning in triumph to supersede Smith had all perished together, resolved to oust him at least by public opinion, and with this purpose so enflamed the minds of the third supply against him that "they mortally hated him ere ever they saw him."

When the fleet was first perceived from the lookout on Hog Island it was reported to the fort as the arrival of the long-expected Spanish attack. Perhaps Smith had rather have seen the Spaniards after all than the crew of disorderly gold-finders and treasure seek-

ers who were presently landed with but one thought in the heads of the majority of them, to upset his restraining authority. His first impulse, we are told, was to resign his presidency and set sail for England in company with Argall, for the initial proceeding of the third supply was to endeavor to seize the fort and assassinate him; but he was too vigilant and the thirty-eight were too faithful to permit such an attempt to succeed. It was clearly his duty to retain the management of affairs until his presidential term should have expired, or until he should be officially informed that his authority had been superseded by that under which held the new officials; but there was every reason to suppose that commissions and commissioned slept together under the Atlantic waters. What would have happened had Archer and Ratcliffe been able to usurp the command, is not even a matter for dispute, since it came to pass during the following winter and is known to all history as the "Starving Time."

But it was at the constant peril of his life that he thus preserved the colony for a little while; for "it would be too tedious, too strange and altogether incredible, should I particularly relate the infinite dangers, plots and practices, he daily escaped among this factious crew; the chief of which he quickly laid by the heels till his leisure better served to do them justice." One does not doubt that he acted with promptness and with sufficient severity; nor that the severity was badly needed.

To divide the forces of his enemies, he seated

Captain Martin with about a hundred of the new supply at Nansemund, and sent West, with a hundred and twenty, who are said to have been the pick of the new supply (alas for the rest !) to found another settlement at the falls ; George Percy, being seriously out of health, had determined to return to England with Argall ; and about the same time, Smith's year as president expired. Captain Martin was then the only member besides himself, in Virginia, who had held authority under the old commission ; upon him, therefore, though since his return as before his leaving he had openly opposed him, Smith very characteristically devolved the presidency. Martin was not, however, when left to himself, anything worse than limited in intellect, and apt to be led astray by golden dreams ; indeed, he was capable even of a sort of patriotism, as we have seen ; but he was, and felt himself, perfectly unequal to the existing situation, and within three hours after the rather comical election (for the Council consisting of himself and Smith, they naturally elected one another), he resigned the presidency once more into the hands of his colleague.

This matter being settled, Smith proceeded to inspect the new settlement at the falls, on the way to which he encountered Master West, the leader, returning to Jamestown. Smith wondered the less that his deputy had been so eager to take away his hand from this new colonial plough, when he found that the site of the settlement had been chosen so inconsiderately as to be subject to a flood at every rise of the river, and hence was unhealthful to the very last degree.

Upon this, the president arranged with Powhatan for the purchase of the Indian town situated near where Richmond now stands ; "no place we knew so strong, so pleasant and delightful in Virginia, for which we called it Non-such." But West's company, chiefly it appears for the sake of defying Smith, stubbornly refused to change their quarters ; and moreover, so maltreated the Indians in the vicinity, that these actually offered their services to Smith, to bring into order his rebellious warriors. The president had with him only five men, and the mutineers were a hundred and twenty ; so when they thus openly revolted he had no choice but to retreat, surprising one of their boats, in which was a large part of the provisions they had brought with them. The crew of this boat, or pinnace, were fortunately willing to accept his authority ; but no sooner was the bark under sail, than the savages undertook to settle their own account with West's men, killing many and so thoroughly frightening the rest, that, Smith's boat having run aground on a sand bar, and so giving him an opportunity to hear of the matter, the mutineers humbly submitted to be seated at Powhatan or wherever else he might desire.

Having appointed new officers in place of those who had proved themselves unfit or unworthy, Smith returned to Jamestown, the more anxiously as Captain Martin had by this time got into trouble with the Nansemund Indians, and had sent to Smith for reinforcements. But when these were received, says our chronicler, he did nothing, so that the "thirty shot" including probably, some of

those trained under Smith, returned to Jamestown, complaining of his "tenderness"; he himself came with them, leaving his party to their fate.

West seems to have returned to "West's Fort" as Smith was departing thence; and upon the statement of the mutinous officers that whatever they had done had been to uphold his lawful authority against Smith the usurper and tyrant, he reinstated them, deposing those whom Smith had chosen, and pulling up the colony again by the roots, led them back to the falls. The president with his five, and with all provisions, munition of war, and so on, again, by his delay, in the hands of those ashore, had no choice but to return to Jamestown, this time for good and all.

One cannot regret over much the accident which followed. The *Sea Venture*, as we know was by no means at the bottom of the ocean, but at the Bermudas, called for awhile, in honor of that rediscovery, the Somers Isles, after one of the leaders of the expedition. And Providence had better things in store for John Smith, than to see his authority superseded, his foes triumphant, and himself sent home to England in disgrace, perhaps as a prisoner, upon the arrival of the new commission.

Smith was sleeping in the small open boat—the pinnace having been hastened away to the fort two days before, probably upon Martin's request for reinforcements—when a bag of gunpowder accidentally exploded, tearing the flesh from his body and thigh, and causing him such agony, that

he leaped overboard into the water to quench the smart, and came near drowning before he could be rescued. The wound was discovered upon examination to be about nine square inches in extent; yet in this condition in an open boat, and with neither physician nor remedies, he made the journey of nearly a hundred miles to Jamestown. And, even then, he held to his purpose; he had set his face like a flint that the Virginia colony should survive, and would not cry craven because of his personal sufferings. From his sick bed he directed the military preparations which the attitude of the Indians now had made necessary; took order for provisioning the fort, and for the bringing to trial of Ratcliffe and Archer. But these gentlemen, wishing to be beforehand with him, plotted, says our chronicler, to murder him in his bed; "but his heart did fail him that should have given fire to that merciless pistol."

This final dastardly attempt so inflamed the passions of the faithful thirty-eight, that they beset Smith with petitions to be allowed to punish the conspirators without the formality of a trial; but the president knew too well what would follow if these, the supporters hitherto of law and order, should thus inaugurate lynch law. The situation had become impossible; even his life was despaired of, from the extent of surface covered by the injury, and the absence of surgeons and surgery; and his faithful soldiers, though willing enough, were not able to fill his place, to subdue conten-

tions abroad, and take order with the treacherous and disaffected at home. He sent for the masters of the ships, and arranged with them as to which ship should transport him to England.

It was not his intention to resign his office, but to appoint deputies during his absence, for his new term was only about a month old. But so soon as he was discovered to be upon the point of leaving, the mutineers prevailed upon Percy, who had not yet sailed, to accept the presidency, Smith assuring them with bitter words that they might steal his authority, but that he would not, by consenting thereto, become responsible for the confusions that must follow his departure.

Thus he set sail, leaving the colony with about four hundred and ninety odd persons, three ships, seven boats, commodities ready to trade, the harvest newly gathered, ten weeks' provision in the store, twenty-four pieces of ordnance, three hundred muskets and other arms, with ammunition sufficient, and pikes, swords and defensive armor, more than enough for the men that were to wear them, a hundred trained soldiers, well acquainted with the country and the savages, nets and tools, six mares and a horse, swine, chickens, sheep and goats, and a government which, instead of husbanding and increasing this store, "lived from hand to mouth," and detained the ships some three weeks longer till they could draw up a set of formal complaints against Captain Smith.

"The justice of God against" the Jamestown colony will presently appear; with a description of its

manifestation against the German traitors, this section of the General History comes to an end.

William Waldo, having managed to reach England, told such a plausible tale to the merchants there of the rich gold mines he had discovered, that he was permitted to return with Lord Delaware; but the mines not materializing, he was proved a "mere impostor, and died most miserably." Adam and Francis fled again to Powhatan, with whom they sought to curry favor by promising him all sorts of wonders upon the arrival of Lord Delaware, but the wary old man replied shrewdly: "You who would have betrayed Captain Smith to me will certainly betray me to this great lord for your peace; so caused his men to beat out their brains."

In the multiplicity of details needing to be recorded we have omitted to mention the arrival with the third supply of a lad who was afterwards of some importance to the colony. This was Henry Spelman, second son of the noted antiquary of the same name, who, being rather a wild youth, had quarreled with his family, and resolved to try his fortune in the colony. Smith took him on his visit of inspection to West's fort, and when Non-Such was bought from Powhatan, Spelman was given as a hostage for the English good faith, in the manner we have so often witnessed. In his relation of the occurrence, Spelman looks upon this as a selling of him into slavery; and we are sorry to observe the same view taken by Mr. Alexander Brown, who has every reason to know better; the true nature of the transaction is too evi-

dent to require demonstration. Spelman remained with the savages for about thirteen years, and has left invaluable records of their manners and customs; he became also a skilled interpreter, and served the colony in that way until after the massacre of 1622, when, in an expedition to the Potomac, he was killed by the Indians, though his companions escaped.

It is probably to the period of Smith's return to England that we may ascribe the verses written by his old fellow-soldier Thomas Carlton, which it may be worth while, for the picture of our hero which they present, here to transcribe:

"Malignant times! what can be said or done,
But shall be censured and traduced by some!
This worthy work, which thou hast bought so dear,
Ne thou, nor it, detractors need to fear.
Thy words by deeds thou hast so long approved,
Of thousands know thee not thou art beloved;
And this great plot will make thee ten times more
Known and belov'd than ere thou wert before.
I never knew a warrior yet, but thee,
From wine, tobacco, debts, dice, oaths, so free.
I call thee warrior; and I make the bolder,
For many a captain now was never soldier.
Some such may swell at this, but (to their praise)
When they have done like thee, my muse shall raise
Their due deserts to worthies yet to come,
To live like thine (admir'd) till day of doom."

To which must be added the half despairing words of Potts and Phettiplace, in the chronicle from which we draw our material for the history of this period.

"What shall I say? but thus we lost him, that, in

all his proceedings made justice his first guide, and experience his second ; ever hating baseness, sloth, pride and indignity more than any dangers ; that never allowed more for himself than his soldiers with him ; that, upon no danger, would send them where he would not lead them himself ; that would never see us want what he either had, or could by any means get us ; that would rather want than borrow, or starve than not pay ; that loved actions more than words and hated falsehood and cozenage worse than death ; whose adventures were our lives, and whose loss our deaths."

PART III.

His Recompense.

CHAPTER XXII.

How Matters Went on Both in Virginia and in England, After Smith's Return to London.

Even by his timely return to England, Smith was to save Virginia.

The London Company, as we know, had been remodelled. For it had become evident to all that matters were progressing most unfavorably for the attainment of all the objects aimed at by the foundation of this, England's first colony. That it was the first, accounts for and excuses the mistakes that were made; mistakes, moreover, which, in all England's vast colonizing work since then, have never been repeated. The only fault we can find with the reforms under which Gates, Somers and Newport received their commission, is that they did not go far enough.

At the end of two years the books of the London Company showed long columns of outgoes, which were balanced merely by a few poor ship-loads of pitch, tar, clap-board and soap ashes; naturally more money was required, and an effort was made to get in more shareholders and secure at the same time a large supply of colonists. For the latter purpose, each emigrant was declared to be entitled to one share, the value of which in our modern currency was about $300, Against this provision of the charter, Smith

would certainly have advised had he been consulted; for the settlers whom it attracted were by no means of the sort desirable, but were, as he calls them, "unruly gallants, packed thither by their friends to escape ill destinies." The communistic system, also, with this material, was still adhered to; the proceeds of the enterprise, by which the new settlers, as we have seen, understood gold, were to be spent so far as needful upon the colony; "and the surplus was either to be divided or funded for seven years. During that period the settlers were to be maintained at the expense of the company, while all the product of their labors was to be cast into the common stock. At the end of that time every shareholder was to receive a grant of land in proportion to his stock held." (Fiske's "Old Virginia," etc., quoted from Doyle's "Virginia.") We have seen the beginning of the result of thus requiring from "unruly gallants" a self-control and patient altruism to which many a ripe Christian would have found himself unequal.

The new company, for new it practically was, was incorporated under the legal title of "The Treasurer and Company of Adventurers and Planters of the City of London for the First Colony of Virginia." We observe that the second colony is not mentioned, so that by this charter the Plymouth Company, though potentially existent under its original charter, was cut loose from the London Company and left free to work out its own scheme of colonization. This is not the smallest result of the proceedings; we shall see the influence exerted during the eleven years which inter-

vened before the sailing of the *Mayflower*, by Smith's writings, on the programme of the Pilgrim Fathers, and the subsequent settlement under Winthrop.

It is the more remarkable that a communistic constitution should have been persisted in, because many of the new settlers took with them their wives and families, a proceeding which must have supplied to the problem the last factor necessary to its inextricable confusion. The government was still vested in a Supreme Council sitting in London, the members of which were at the beginning appointed by the king; but with power to fill any vacancy occurring thereafter by vote of the whole body of shareholders—six hundred and fifty-nine persons and fifty-six trade-guilds of the City of London. This Council was to exercise full right of sovereignty over Virginia, to levy and collect custom-house duties, and even to wage war for defensive purposes. (Fiske's "Old Virginia," Vol. I, p. 145.) This latter power had been, as we have seen, exercised by Smith under the first law of nature. The local Council, which had proved so ludicrously inefficient, was abolished by the new charter; the direct rule with autocratic power was placed in the hands of a governor, appointed for life and responsible only to the Supreme Council, who thus occupied precisely the position towards those at home and in Virginia which had been forced by circumstances upon John Smith. The changes in the charter were thus a justification of Smith's practical wisdom and administrative ability; whether they were so regarded by the new governor, Thomas West, Baron Delaware,

and by the home authorities generally, is open to question.

Delaware was, however, a veteran of the Netherland wars and a man of open mind and magnanimous spirit; he was, moreover, sincerely and patriotically anxious to preserve the colony; his enthusiasm in the cause persisted to the end of his life; and it is not without reason that his name is so closely associated with the great republic, to the tottering foundations of which his hand gave strength and security when that of John Smith had been unwillingly withdrawn.

Smith undoubtedly understood that in returning to England he was facing a body of persons to whom in reason and justice he must give an account of his stewardship, and of those matters which had gone so very far out of their desired course; it is extremely probable, therefore, that he was careful to obtain the testimony of others, eye-witnesses, to substantiate his own, and that in this manner he took home with him much of the material which was afterwards published as his vindication and that of the faithful thirty-eight. His account of the wreck, as was supposed, of the *Sea Venture*, and the consequent loss of the officers and documents of the new régime was the first news of the matter that had reached England; his apprehensions, also, of the anarchy that was likely to follow his departure, and of its most probable consequences, so alarmed both Governor and Council that Lord Delaware resolved to go in person to the rescue of his new vice-royalty.* Accordingly three ships

* We say "his accounts," and "his apprehensions," because he was of a certainty the person first and most minutely questioned.

well-stocked with food and all other supplies were hurriedly but carefully fitted out. The relief expedition set sail about the first of April, reaching Jamestown only just in the nick of time.

For hardly had Smith's ships weighed anchor, when George Percy discovered the impossibility of maintaining his authority against the rude and lawless spirits whom the former president had only just succeeded in holding in check. The settlers at Jamestown remind one, at this juncture, of a wild animal, crouching terrorized before the eye of his accustomed keeper, but springing at the throat of him who tries to supply that keeper's place. Smith's last effort had been to seat a colony at Point Comfort, where, summer or winter, no fisherman needed to starve; since the bitter weather rarely lasted more than a few days, and when the river was open enough fish might be caught, and oysters provided in a day to supply them for weeks. But Martin and West by this time, having lost their boats and nearly half their men among the savages, had returned with the remnants left them to swell the number of hungry mouths at Jamestown; and the Point Comfort colony seem also to have returned thither almost immediately, neglecting the course by which Smith had brought the settlement safely through the last time of necessity, of scattering the number of eaters through the widest possible territory. Concentration meant famine; though those left at the fort by Smith could possibly have managed to exist on the food in the storehouse, it supplied to the increased numbers rations that were scant from the first.

The new method of treating the Indians had by this time come to fruition, and the savages had everywhere rebelled as soon as Smith's departure became known to them. To add to the disorder at the fort, Percy became too ill to go abroad, and Ratcliffe, Martin, West and some dozen or so others, each maintained a following, and ruffled it somewhat after the style of a mediæval robber baron. The one point in which they deigned to imitate Smith was in an attempt to procure food from Powhatan, who was again all smiles and smooth promises, until he had gotten Ratcliffe, with a small boat and thirty or forty well-armed men into his power. Then he threw off the mask, and the party were slain almost to a man; one Jeffrey Shortridge managed to escape, and Henry Spelman, of whom we heard in the last chapter, was hidden by the faithful Pocahontas, who of all her race, remained the friend of the English.

Powhatan now put in force the policy which he would have been glad to practise against Smith, but which the latter's tact and vigilance had managed to defeat; he cut off their boats, forbade his tributaries to trade with them for food, and hemmed them in, to perish of starvation within the fort. At this crisis one of the pinnaces was stolen and run out to sea, where her crew designed to turn pirates; and West, in one of the ships that Smith had left them, set sail to carry tidings of their straits to the Council in London. After his departure their condition worsened every day.

The savages ate their hogs, and lay in wait about the fort, making constant attacks upon every unguarded point. In a short time everything eatable within the walls had been consumed, even to the skins of their horses; the palisades had been torn down and burned, to abate the rigors of the winter, against which their slight cabins were a most inadequate protection. There are tales yet more grewsome; stories such as attend every narrative of famine-cursed humanity; of the body of an Indian boiled for food, and yet worse, of a man who, in the madness of hunger, having quarreled with his wife and struck a little too hard, prepared her body as he had often, perhaps, prepared those of swine and oxen, and had eaten a large part of it before his crime was discovered. Even for these unruly spirits such a deed was a little too strong, and the cannibal was burned at the stake.

When, in the spring, Gates, Somers, and Newport, who had passed the winter comfortably enough in the Bermudas, reached Virginia in the repaired *Sea Veuture*, they found of the five hundred (nearly) whom Smith had left there with the stores enumerated at the close of our last chapter, only about sixty gaunt, hollow-eyed, disease-smitten wretches. With the long-lost ship were about one hundred and fifty persons who are not likely to have felt encouraged to the prosecution of their proposed enterprise by the spectacle before them, added to what they had already undergone; that miraculous preservation in a leaky ship which, as

says our chronicler, may be read at large in the history of the Somers Isles, but of which our space forbids us at this time to speak at greater length. The officials themselves were disheartened and confused by the clamors of the survivors, of whom each one laid the blame of their disasters on some one else, whether living or dead.

And thus it was decided, though with sore strivings of heart and agony of mind, to abandon the colony, whose foundations had already been laid and should have been securely cemented at such cost of blood and suffering. On the seventh of June the fort was dismantled, and everything that could be carried away was loaded upon the ships to the roll of the muffled drums; and the remnant of the settlers embarked, and weighed anchor, resolved to direct their course first to Newfoundland, where by fishing they might live through the summer, and by carrying home good cargoes of fish, might assuage the wrath and lessen the losses of the directors and stockholders of this unfortunate enterprise.

But Providence would not have it so. The fleet of despair made halt that night at Mulberry Island, and the next day proceeded towards Point Comfort which was once again to prove its right to that name. For as they approached Hampton Roads a cry from the lookout announced that a boat was in sight. Thank God, an English long-boat. When it boarded them it was to announce that the governor himself with his three well-stocked ships, and this time a body of

picked men, mostly mechanics, for settlers, was off the capes waiting till wind and tide should favor their entrance to the bay.

It was as though the axe of the headsman had been turned aside on the very scaffold; amid joy and congratulations every prow was turned up-stream and the little fleet made all sail for the abandoned fort where every effort was recklessly expended upon getting all things into condition to welcome the deliverer. The sixty survivors included many if not all of Smith's thirty-eight; for it was of course the worthless element of the community that had suffered the heaviest mortality. The rest had had their lesson, and the newcomers had as we have seen been chosen, if not under Smith's personal advice, at least in accordance with the recommendation contained in his "rude answer."

With Lord Delaware's coming, chaos was at an end; few of the vicissitudes that were afterwards to befall the colony arose from anything worse than natural and excusable mistakes.

This was on Friday, June 8, 1610; the governor's arrival was delayed until the Sunday. On that day the colonists with thrilling hearts were drawn up under arms to receive their new commanders; Gates, Somers and Newport, stood at their head, while Delaware approached the peninsula in the long boat that had brought their first message of hope and gladness. As it touched the shore the governor sprang on land, and immediately falling upon his knees, gave thanks to God that he had arrived in time to save Virginia.

Nor was it only Virginia that was saved. Had this slight English foothold on the American continent, with such difficulty gained, been lost again, had Lord Delaware's ships been delayed but a few hours longer, who can tell how far-reaching the consequences might have been. Granting that the Pilgrims would not have been discouraged, by the failure of Jamestown, from attempting a settlement in America, if Virginia had been abandoned once more to the wilderness, if her resources and those of her offshoot colonies had not been available to throw into the balance of the eighteenth century struggles for New-World supremacy, not only might the colonists have found themselves too feeble to oppose effectively the despotic policy of George III., but America might have been lost to the Anglo-Saxon race; and a Latin civilization might today cover the northern as well as the southern continent of the Western World.

CHAPTER XXIII.

How Captain Smith Voyaged to New England; and What Befell Thereafter.

In the spring of 1611, the climate of Virginia, or rather of Jamestown, proved too much for Lord Delaware; and his health failing he was obliged to return to England. Percy, rather on account of his rank as brother to Lord Northumberland, than from any proved fitness for the post, was left as his temporary substitute. Delaware's first stop was at the Azores, as he had been driven from his course by contrary winds; and here he found himself so much restored, that he thought of returning to his post, but was dissuaded by the physician who accompanied him. Reaching England, he encountered at Cowes the ships of Sir Thomas Dale, then on his way to Virginia as Delaware's substitute; he had with him one hundred kine, and twice that number of hogs for the colony. It is mentioned in contemporary annals, that so thorough were the sanitary measures taken on this voyage, that not a single case of ship fever occurred on any of the ships; a point whose chief interest lies in the proof which it offers, that the true cause of the difference in this respect between this and former voyages was the added cost of sanitary construction and the extraordinary cleanliness required, for which, on the present

occasion, it is probable that the crew received extra pay. Human lives will continue for many years to be balanced against money values, and for nearly as long will be found in the lighter scale.

Smith was at this time, so far as we know, still in England; though the dearth of material for this portion of his biography is in marked contrast with the almost daily chronicle from which we have drawn during his life in Virginia. His wound seems to have healed without more ado, at least we hear nothing more about it; and he was probably waiting and hoping for his justification at the hands of Lord Delaware, after that nobleman should have examined for himself the state of affairs in Virginia. Such justification might very well have taken the form of returning him to the colony in the very position that was filled by Sir Thomas Dale, perhaps with knighthood added as a mark of special gratitude from King James. But even under Queen Elizabeth this would have been rather an unlikely result of all the circumstances taken together, however well deserved by Smith individually; under James it was a conception perfectly beyond the reach of the imagination. The Elizabethan era, as is well pointed out by Prof. J. R. Green, was fundamentally republican; the reigns of James and his successor were thoroughly reactionary; and the tension tightened until the breaking point was reached in the execution of Charles. We have seen already the fictitious value assigned to wealth and yet more to rank, even in the new-born colony, where if anywhere personality should have been at a premium; it was

therefore ludicrously impossible to place at the head of the Jamestown government the son of a mere yeoman to rule over colonists of noble birth. Sir Francis Drake was no more highly born, and the surroundings of his infancy were even ruder than those amid which Smith was nourished; but Drake had never been forced by circumstances to fly directly in the faces of a whole stock-company, nor, worse still, to prove to them afterwards that he had been right and they wrong; and that if they wished their money back, their only course was to follow his example.

We have seen already that just this had happened between Smith and the Treasurer and Company for Virginia; they had magnanimously forgiven him, they paid him the compliment, as we shall see, of consulting him more than once about Virginia matters; but they were most unlikely to reward him.

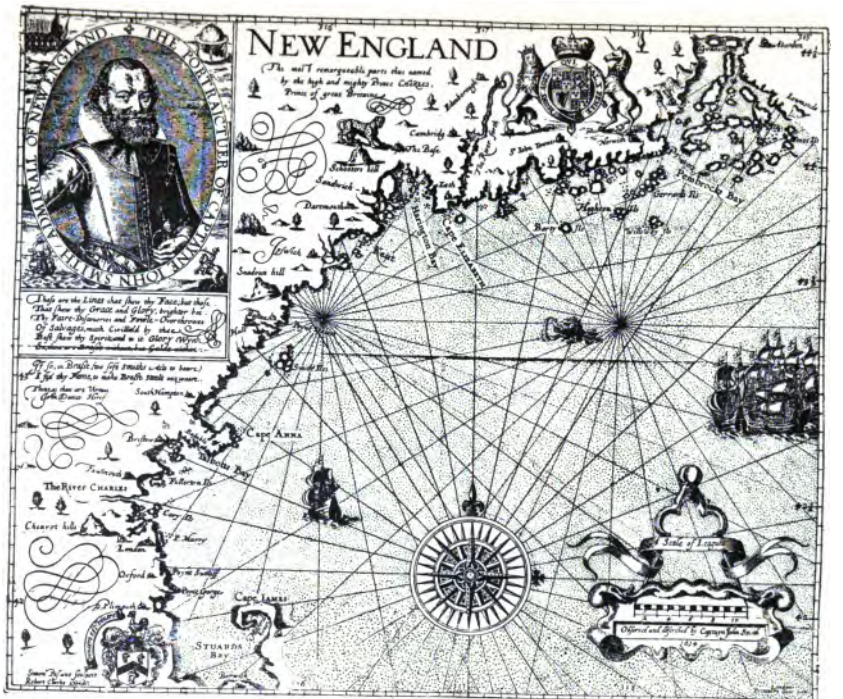
Smith offered his services to the company in 1622, immediately upon the reception of the news of the massacre under Opechancanough, to suppress the Indian insurrection; but they were declined. With his usual necessity for doing things in the right way, if he were to do them at all, he desired "a hundred soldiers and thirty sailors, with victual, munition, and necessary provision." Their answer was in effect that Virginia stock was below par, with no buyers; and that it was likely the remaining settlers would be able tc do for themselves, what Smith proposed to do for them.

In 1624, Smith was requested to answer from his experience seven questions, chiefly based upon a

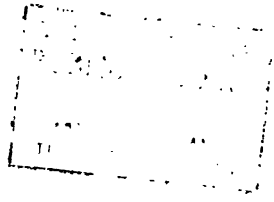
previous letter of his to His Majesty's Commission for the Reformation of Virginia. These questions relate to various economic and military matters; the replies are shrewd, far-seeing, and to the point; they show a manly independence and truth, and in no single case has time proved any one of them to be erroneous.

Whether or no he had expected any action from the London Company that would clear his name in the eyes of the world, we do not know; but it was just at the moment when the futility of such an expectation, if he had ever entertained it, had become evident, that he gave to the world, not only his own vindication but that of the faithful thirty-eight, who must in some measure have shared in the cloud which had fallen upon himself.

It was in 1612 that the "Map of Virginia, with a Description of the Countries, &c.," was published under Smith's own name; the second part of the work being entitled "The Proceedings and Accidents of the English Colony in Virginia." This second portion is stated in the preface to have been compiled by Richard Pots, possibly as corroborative of Smith's own account of himself on his return to England, as we have already indicated; having passed in manuscript under the eyes of numerous readers, it fell by chance into the hands of one T. Abbay, who says he "could do no less in charity than reveal" it to the world; by which he probably means that he paid the expenses of publication. Its final editing was at the hands of the Rev. W. Simmonds, a person of whom nothing else is known; but it may have been by his



MAP OF NEW ENGLAND



means, as is suggested by Edward Arber, the minutely laborious editor of Smith's Collected Works, that it was published at the Oxford University Press, Joseph Barnes, printer, instead of in London. The present writer can do no better than to extract what Mr. Arber has to say on this subject.

"That this book of travels, &c., should have been printed at the Oxford University Press is a most singular fact.

"The earl of Leicester, then chancellor of the university, gave in 1585 that university a new printing press, and Joseph Barnes was at the same time appointed university printer, which office he held until his death in 1617.

"The hand printing presses in England were jealously registered and locked up every night to prevent surreptitious printing, all through the life of our author; and the Company of Stationers of London especially watched with a keen jealousy the printing operations of the two universities of Cambridge and Oxford, who each possessed a single handpress.

"This solitary hand-printing press at Oxford usually produced sermons, theological and learned works, &c.; in the midst of which this book of travels crops up in a startling manner.

"Why could not or would not Smith get it printed in London?* Had the revision of its second part by the Rev. Dr. Simmonds anything to do with the

*Of the probability of Dr. Alexander Brown's hypothesis, that the book was written and printed in defence of the king's colonial policy, the reader is now in a position to judge for himself.

printing at Oxford? Who was T. Abbay,* who risked the expense of publication? These nuts we must leave for others to crack.

"Of course, being printed at Oxford, this book was not registered at Stationers' Hall, London."

The purpose of the publication is distinctly stated in the preface; "For that nothing can so purge that famous action (the founding of Virginia) from the infamous scandal some ignorantly have conceited as the plain naked and simple truth. For defect whereof the business is still suspected, the truth unknown, and the best deservers discouraged and neglected." If this were the object, the same considerations which, in 1608, cut out the story of Smith's rescue by Pocahontas would still prevent any mention of the subject; moreover, as Smith is not among the authors of the second part, who relate only their immediate personal experiences, we should not expect that incident to be included.

It seems likely that our hero was to a certain extent cleared in the minds of the judicious by the publication of this work; for in 1613 he was placed in command of an expedition fitted out by certain merchants of London. It consisted of two ships, and seems to have sailed with general directions to kill whales, and find a mine of gold or copper, somewhere within the jurisdiction of the Plymouth Company. "If these failed, fish and furs were then our refuge to make ourselves savers howsoever."

* His name is recorded among those of the First Supply; but we know nothing further.

They made land at the island of Monahegan, but the voyage was successful only in what indirectly came of it; indeed, Smith, with his usual disdain of gold-seeking, accuses the master or navigator of the expedition of misrepresenting the probabilities in that respect that he might be engaged for the voyage. Whether or no, there was certainly neither gold nor copper to be found; whaling disappointed them, the whales proving beyond their skill and the means at their command, and they wasted so much time in this pursuit that both furs and fish were out of season ere they perceived it. They were able, however, to obtain a tolerable haul, and, while the sailors were busy at this work, Smith in a small boat, with about eight or nine others, ranged the coast for beaver, otter and marten skins, of which they obtained a very fair supply, though their best gain was that knowledge of the coast line, which first emerges in its true shape on Smith's subsequent map.

With the furs thus acquired, and a load of train oil and corfish, Smith returned to England, leaving the other ship to winter in New England and load with dried fish; he arrived in the Downs after an absence of only six months. It was during this voyage that he gave to this portion of North America, until then included with Newfoundland, Nova Scotia and other portions of the coast under the general title of Norumbega, the name of New England, for the reason, as he naively states, that it is in the same latitude as its namesake island.

The comparative success of this expedition led to

another in the following year. The name of Sir Ferdinando Gorges in connection with this enterprise and with that of John Smith opens to us a most interesting section of New England's history, upon which it is hardly the place of this historian to dwell at length. Gorges' name had been connected with the Plymouth Company from the beginning, and it was he who in 1620 obtained for it the new patent by which it was made legally, as for a long while it had been virtually, independent of the London Company. It was, however, upon much the same lines as the former patent, and at the head of the home Council was James' corrupt and unpopular favorite, the Duke of Buckingham. But it was through sale or lease from this company that not the *Mayflower* pilgrims only, but all the earlier New England settlers held their lands; and numerous were the strifes and jealousies arising therefrom. Gorges was perhaps no worse, but was certainly not much better than his associates in this enterprise; he had saved his own fortunes at the downfall of his patron Essex by treachery and ingratitude (Fiske, "The Beginnings of New England," p. 88-9), but these were very common faults of the period.

The trial of the fisheries of the New England coast had indeed turned out so well in the eyes of the London merchants, though Smith thought poorly of what had been accomplished as compared with what might have been done, that in this same year, 1615, four ships were fitted out by them, of which the command was offered to Smith. His refusal was based upon

the highest grounds, but it gave great offence to the Londoners, who seem to have blacklisted him forthwith. But Smith's own magnanimity was always in his way when it became a question of dealing with petty commercial spites and jealousies. There existed a strong trade rivalry between London and the West of England, but Smith, in addition to the fact that he was in a measure pledged to Gorges and would not break his word, favored very ardently the sending forth of all expeditions to America from Plymouth and not from London. For this he was anxious to obtain the coöperation of the merchants of both sections, and his naif argument is that those of London had the money while Plymouth possessed the advantage of situation; the voyage from London thither "is near as much trouble, but much more danger," than that from Plymouth to New England; moreover the West of England men made better fishermen.

Such considerations were most unlikely to prove stronger than the jealousies of rival seaports; but Smith had reason to regret that he had trusted to the flattering promises of the western men. He had, on his former return from New England, put in at Plymouth on his way to London; and had at that time been promised the command of a colony, which the merchants of those parts proposed to send out, with a flotilla of four ships, the following year. However, the four ships of London, bent only on fishing, were ready first; and when Smith, with two hundred pounds in cash ($5,000 of mod-

ern currency), and "six gentlemen well furnished" presented himself in Plymouth ready for the voyage, he "found no such matter," but on the contrary, much of the enthusiasm had been quenched by the return of a ship that had been unsuccessful in finding a promised gold mine. In 1608, an Indian called Epinow had been captured by Captain Edward Harlow, and brought to London, where, because of his great stature, he was paraded through the streets and made a show of until he learned enough of English speech and manners to announce his knowledge of a fictitious gold mine somewhere in the Cape Cod region. The bait took, and the ship was dispatched with Epinow aboard until he reached his own shores, when he suddenly took to the water and left the master and crew to wound one another in their frenzied efforts to shoot him through the glancing waves. Smith's own course toward the New England natives had been already markedly different from that of most captains, though he seems to have been afraid of sharing the blame of Master Hunt's conduct; who, expressly to prevent the project of a colony, says Smith, had carried away four and twenty savages after Smith had sailed for home, and had sold them as slaves. It is most unlikely that Hunt was far-seeing enough to connect his action with any projected colony; like his betters, his only thought was, most probably, to fill his own purse. His action becoming known, threw him out of employment, and from one cause and another the

colonization scheme had fallen quite into disfavor; but after a "labyrinth of trouble," as Smith picturesquely calls it, and largely through his own means and those of his friends, he succeeded in fitting out a ship of two hundred tons, and another of fifty. But the larger ship losing all her masts in a storm, Smith, who was in command of her, was forced to put back into harbor; meanwhile, his consort, knowing nothing of the disaster, continued her voyage, and after a successful fishing returned in August heavily laden.

Smith's fortune had in the meantime been very different. Having transferred his stores, or what remained of them, and his thirty men to a small bark of thirty tons, he set sail again on June 24th. He seems to have taken the old route by the Canaries, but to have been driven from his intended course when his little craft was chased by a bark of a hundred and twenty tons, well manned and armed, under the command of an English pirate called Fry. In spite of the odds against him, both as to ship, men and guns, Smith was disposed to try conclusions with this pirate; but coming to a parley, a state of affairs revealed itself that was at once picturesque and pathetic. For these were no ordinary hardened, blood-stained pirates, but English soldiers, who, having been slaves or perhaps simply stranded and penniless at Tunis, had stolen this ship and undertaken a career of piracy, as so many disbanded soldiers and unemployed sailors had done, simply as a means of support. They were short of provisions and at logger-

heads among themselves; and to crown the whole, many of them had been under Smith's command in the Transylvanian wars. When they understood therefore that it was their former captain with whom they were speaking, they offered him their services on the spot to accompany him wherever he was bound or serve him as he should command. But Smith's whole soul was bent on his colonizing project, and for this, or for the fisheries, these runaways offered rather unfavorable material. Moreover, they were not supplied for so long a voyage, and his own provisions were barely enough for his own crew; therefore, he refused their offer, but seems to have parted good friends. What became of Fry and his crew we do not know; it may be that Smith encouraged them to find their way to some Christian port, hoping for honester ways of living; but his own crew seem rather to have regretted his resolution on account of its consequences. For at Fayal they fell in with another sort of pirates, French this time, two ship-loads of them, against whom Smith's crew rather reasonably protested the impossibility of contending; but reason in fighting had never been the captain's strong point, and the argument that he would rather blow up the ship than yield brought his men to their guns; by superior sailing, rather than fighting, he effected his escape. But only to fall into the hands of four French men-of-war from Rochelle, cruising against "Portugals, Spaniards and pirates," under an alleged commission from the king. Going aboard of the admiral's ship to show his papers, as he was summoned to do, Smith,

to his amazement, was detained as a prisoner, while his ship was sacked and his crew distributed among the French fleet, which within a few days had increased to eight or nine sail. Shortly after, the bark was surrendered and her crew restored to her with a portion of her stores; but this did not, through the treachery of some of her men, involve Smith's release. The sailors were by this time thoroughly weary, and, perhaps from these repeated disasters, superstitiously afraid of this American expedition, and desired nothing so much as to return to England; while the fifteen landsmen whom Smith was taking out as colonists were prepared to stand by their leader and their purpose at all hazards. Two of the crew, Chambers and Minter, seem to have implanted in the minds of the French the suspicion that Smith, if he were released, would revenge his temporary detention and the delay of his voyage upon the French fishers at the Newfoundland banks. That the interference of these king's ships was excused by a desire to protect these fisheries is certain; and when it proved that in spite of the lateness of the season and the loss of goods already sustained, Smith was as stubbornly bent as ever on proceeding on his voyage, further measures were resorted to. He was inveigled aboard the flag-ship, which then on some alarm given gave chase to a sail, real or imaginary; meanwhile the English mutineers, alleging it to be the captain's intention to turn pirate, made the best of their way to Plymouth, where they arrived in the glory of self-righteousness, and did their best to blacken his char-

acter, in the good hope that he would never return to clear it. The fifteen were all landsmen, and had not understood the proceedings aboard ship or had knowledge to take matters into their own hands.

Sorely they grieved no doubt for their beloved captain, whose adventures were the while proceeding rapidly. Detained as a prisoner in the admiral's cabin, whose ship had become separated from the fleet, he was for some weeks in the neighborhood of the Azores. Time hung leaden-like on his hands, and his heart was heavy, as we may believe; nevertheless, he did more for New England in this enforced inaction than his proposed colony would have accomplished. For to keep his perplexed thoughts from too much meditation on his miserable estate, he prepared the book which he published the following year—"A Description of New England." The accompanying map had been drawn during his stay in England; but he now, with, we may suppose, hardly any notes to assist his memory, drew up an account of the climate, productions, inhabitants and geographical features, the accuracy of which is simply surprising. It was his purpose to send this manuscript by some English ship, which the Frenchman, after ransacking, might allow to return, to "His Majesty's Council"; a resolve which shows that the usually hopeful man had, as to his own future, reached the brink of despair.

After some conflicts with English pirates, and the practice of piracy on their own account towards a returning English fishing ship from Newfoundland;

after running from a Scot, and vainly chasing four Spanish treasure-ships from the West Indies; after capturing a poor caravel of Brazil, and a ship of Holland, they encountered a Spanish galleon, richly laden, of which they made a satisfactory prize. Smith in these adventures, seems to have consented, perhaps for the sake of variety in his monotonous life, perhaps with a revival of his own spirit of adventure, to "manage their fights" against the Spaniard, while in case of an encounter with the English he remained a prisoner in the cabin. At this distance of time it seems to us an unusual course, but it contained nothing inconsistent for those times with the career of an honorable soldier of fortune. His captors, whose surface treatment of him was as to a gentleman in distress, a captain whose crew had mutinied and left him, meanwhile fed him with promises that he should be set ashore at some convenient point on one of the Azores or else transferred to a homeward bound ship; his share of the booty they had taken was politely estimated at ten thousand crowns; but upon reaching French waters they came out at last in their true colors.

The struggling little Jesuit colony of Port Royal, in Nova Scotia, had been during Dale's administration in Virginia wiped out under his orders, by Captain Argall; and Smith to his surprise now found himself accused of participation in this outrage. It seems indeed to have been a trumped-up charge for the purpose of forcing Smith to refrain from making any claims upon them for his ten thousand crowns, or any

complaints of unjust imprisonment. His own explanation of the affair is the distracted condition of France since the death of Henri IV. had removed the last barrier against anarchy; for the charge was the work of those who had equipped and sent out these privateers, and who did not propose to share their booty either with him or the poor sailors. For these also were cheated, even of their pay, by a few officers on board and the owners on shore.

Finding himself in this dilemma, either to make a false declaration before the French Admiralty Court or to remain in prison indefinitely, Smith, taking advantage of a severe storm that kept his captors close under hatches, seized a small boat which he set adrift; but being blown out to sea, he spent twelve hours under a fearful tempest, sculling and bailing out his boat, which at last was driven on a mud-bank where "certain fowlers" found him, only half alive, between hunger, fatigue and exposure. Pawning his boat for means to reach Rochelle, the indomitable man made his complaint before the Admiralty Court; and his statement being confirmed by certain sailors, shipwrecked in the storm just past from one of the prizes taken by the "Admiral," he had their depositions taken in due legal form, and with them travelled to Bordeaux, where the English ambassador was at that time. Here he was just in time for the pageant of the royal marriage; and, which was far more important for himself, met with friends who relieved his necessities and supplied him with funds to return to Plymouth. Arriving in that town in December, he was lucky

enough to "lay by the heels" several of his mutineers, who had expected nothing less than his thus descending upon them; and as his fifteen colonists seem to have still held together, he caused some of them to make affidavit to what had occurred before Sir Lewis Stukely, knight and vice-admiral of Devonshire.

These vigorous proceedings in a measure cleared his name from the charge of piracy on the high seas, which the mutineers had laid against him to save themselves from an accusation of mutiny on their return to Plymouth; we cannot doubt, however, that the affair added a heavier shadow to that cloud which already rested on his name.

And still all his mind was bent upon planting a colony in New England; and three good ships were made ready for the next year (1617) to convey thither himself and his fifteen friends, and to cover the cost of the voyage by a summer's fishing. But being delayed for two months by contrary winds, the planting of the colony was postponed, on account of the lateness of the season, for another year, Smith's experience having taught him the unwisdom of beginning a settlement too late to make satisfactory provision against the winter. The ships, however, went to Newfoundland, with very satisfactory results; and to recompense Captain Smith for the money loss he had sustained by these delays, the Plymouth Company promised him twenty ships against the next spring, and, over their hands and the seal of the colony that was yet to be born, created him admiral of New

England for life, with a liberal share of all profits to arise therefrom.

This year, therefore, which Smith had expected to spend in the founding of the newer England across the waves, he passed in going up and down through the west country, distributing gratis his own books and maps relating to New England and Virginia.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Of the Last Meeting of Smith and Pocahontas, with Other Matters of Interest.

Thus happily returned, and unhappily detained in England, our hero gave himself first with serious ardor to the work which was to fill his closing years: namely, the writing and compilation of works upon the subject which he thus made especially his own—Colonization. He had, as we have said, in his voyage of 1614, made a chart of the New England coast and given names, not merely to the country itself, but to many points on the coast; among others he had called that point of land now known as Cape Anne by the name of his dear lady Tragabigzanda; and the three islands not far away he called the Turks' Heads.

Every author knows what it means to get hold of a really good and applicable name and have it unappreciated by the world; and it may be that Smith was right in insisting so fiercely upon the name of New England, which, with New France to the north and New Spain in the extreme south of that portion of the continent, stood for a great deal, politically as well as sentimentally. Finding that malicious minds, as he called them, who very likely grudged him the honor

of naming the new country, "drowned that name with the echo of Nusconcus, Canada, and Pemaquid," he boldly sent his book and map to "the High Hopeful Prince Charles," then, through the death of his brother, heir to the throne, some time after June 18th, 1616, with a letter requesting that his highness would please to change the barbarous names bestowed by Smith, for such as might please his royal fancy, so that posterity might say "Prince Charles was their godfather." The names bestowed by the prince may be found at page 232 of Smith's Works, on the copy of a rare leaf, printed and inserted in the book* after its publication; they are substantially the same as are found on our modern maps; and the connection is not unsuggestive of the irony of fate. The Puritans could cut off Charles' head, and did so; but he called after his own name the river on which stands the chief Puritan city.

The summer of this year, 1616, was spent by Smith in the propaganda of his colonization scheme. Wishing to familiarize the minds of the west country nobility and gentry with the project, as well as to recommend it to the merchants of those parts, he visited the chief towns of that region, giving away his books and maps, both of Virginia and New England, and supplementing these with all the personal force and eloquence at his command, which was not a little. It was not a fad, though it has been represented as such by some of his detractors. The same motives, the same opinions in regard to the planting of English

* "New England's Trials."

colonies in America had been advanced by Hakluyt himself, and by many others of the host of writers and pamphleteers who had treated the subject; but Smith made it his own in the sense that his life had no other object; his own career, with every hope that he built upon the future, was involved in its success. He was not on this account, however, less truly patriotic; on the contrary, the very source of his ardor was his conviction of the inestimable value to the mother country of this greater England beyond the sea.

While in the midst of this missionary circuit, he met at Brentford, in Devonshire, an old friend. Pocahontas was now in a very different position from that in which he had last seen her, which had been, so far as we know, on the night when having once again warned him of his danger, she had fled away through the darkness weeping. After his departure from Jamestown, and her father's open assumption of a hostile attitude towards the English, her former friendly offices towards those at the fort had, even if she wished to continue them, become impossible. In April, 1613, while on a visit to the Potomac Indians, she was seen by Captain Argall, who treacherously made her a captive, buying her from her equally treacherous hosts at the price of a copper kettle. Nor was there, so far as we know, a man among the English to protest against the ignominy of the action, though Master Ralph Hamor, from whose narrative is derived our knowledge of the affair, speaks with pity of "betraying the poor innocent Pocahontas aboard" of Argall's ship; yet even he was probably willing enough to profit by her

captivity. So they sent an embassy to Powhatan to enforce peace, by the strong argument of possessing this valuable hostage; but before the old man had yielded, a marriage had been arranged for her with John Rolfe, an Englishman of good family who had arrived in the colony during Dale's administration. Hamor says that the two had been in love with one another "long before this," *i. e.*, Dale's expedition to Powhatan's town; but certainly they had never seen each other before her capture. Yet, without doubt, they might have loved, even at first sight; length of acquaintance is not always necessary to explain such cases. But Hamor also says that the matter was arranged with Dale through his means; and it was so very beneficial in its results to the colony that one is tempted to inquire how far Hamor extended his mediation? Rolfe had buried his first wife and his infant child since his arrival in Virginia; he married a third time after the death of Pocahontas—a fact which robs from Hamor's romance some of its bloom; and we can hardly avoid the suspicion that he was influenced fully as much by policy as by affection.* For Pocahontas, she would hold herself, as a captive, so entirely at the disposal of the victor that to marry him would have seemed only her natural fate; and yet, for some purpose or other, they were forced to deceive her, by false news of Smith's death; though

* This policy of marriage between the whites and Indians was urged upon the colonists by a number of well-meaning persons. Rolfe, who saw so clearly the apparent economic value of tobacco to Virginia, is likely to have acted in this matter with a similar wise shortsightedness, perceiving the immediate benefits and overlooking the ultimate results which Smith saw so clearly.

why, except to obtain her consent to the marriage, it is difficult to understand.

Smith's description of his meeting with her is as follows: "Being about this time about to set sail for New England" (that is, he was engaged as has been said, in the preaching of his colonization crusade throughout the West of England, expecting to set sail the next year with twenty ships, and as many colonists as he could gather; but the expedition never came off), "I could not stay to do her that service I desired, and she well deserved; but hearing she was at Brentford with divers of my friends, I went to see her. After a modest salutation, without a word she turned about, obscured her face, not seeming well contented; and in that humor her husband with divers others, we all left her two or three hours, repenting myself to have written she could speak English. But not long after, she began to talk, and remembered me well what courtesies she had done, saying, 'You did promise Powhatan what was yours should be his, and he the like unto you; you called him father, being in his land a stranger, and by the same reason so must I do you.' (Which, though I would have excused, I durst not allow of that title, because she was a king's daughter.) With a well-set countenance she said, 'Were you not afraid to come into my father's country, and caused fear in him and all his people, but me; and fear you here I should call you father? I tell you then I will, and you shall call me child, and so I will be for ever and ever your countryman. They did tell us always you were dead, and I knew no other till I came to Plymouth; yet

Powhatan did command Uttamatomakin to seek you and to know the truth, because your countrymen will lie much.'"

The character of this young girl and her relations with Smith have been understood quite oppositely by different historians. She was not quite the semi-divine being whom some have represented her; but was undoubtedly a woman, as her portrait shows her, of considerable moral and mental power. There is no reason to doubt that it was her personal superiority to the rest of her tribe that attracted her towards the English; nor, that her conversion to Christianity was perfectly sincere and genuine. Whether she felt for Smith more than the title of father would imply, we shall not venture to decide in the absence of authoritative testimony on the subject.

Smith was also sincere in his friendship for her, and in his deferential treatment at their meeting, which gave her such offense; for King James had already seen fit to frown upon John Rolfe, for presuming to wed with a lady of royal birth; and this, as well as the deleterious effects of London smoke upon the health of Pocahontas, was no doubt one cause of her removal to Brentford. Our hero, as we know, stood, at just that moment, particularly well with Prince Charles; he had just been appointed admiral of New England, and was on the point, as he believed, of finding both wealth and honor in the New World; his enemies in England, moreover, had just received a signal defeat at his hands; he had nothing to gain, as his detractors have alleged, by connecting his name with that of this

THE ROLFE PORTRAIT OF POCAHONTAS
(From " Pocahontas and her Descendants," by Wyndham Robertson)

THE NEW YORK
PUBLIC LIBRARY

ASTOR, LENOX AND
TILDEN FOUNDATIONS.

young Indian girl, and a good deal to risk by avowing his former indebtedness to her; but this consideration was not one which he was likely to entertain for a moment. He wrote accordingly a letter to Queen Anne, the wife of James, bespeaking her womanly interest in Pocahontas, now called Rebecca; in which for the first time he describes her rescue of him, at the peril of her own life, as he believed, when he lay under sentence of death at the feet of Powhatan; recounted all the benefits she had heaped upon the Virginia colony; and explained her present relations with himself, in a plain, straightforward, manly fashion, that must have disarmed any slander that dared to raise its head against either of them.

His care, however, was not wholly for Pocahontas; she had been accompanied, upon her voyage to England, not only by her husband, but by several girls of her nation, and by a special ambassador from Powhatan, the Uttamatomakin, Uttawacomack, or Tomocomo, as he is variously called, to whom she referred in her reproaches to Smith. This chieftain had married one of Powhatan's daughters and was charged by the aged werowance to observe, not merely as we may suppose, the welcome accorded to Pocahontas, but the number of the English. He was provided with a tally stick, "whereon by notches he did think to have kept the number of all the men he could see, but he was quickly weary of that task," says Captain Smith dryly. It is not to be supposed, however, as has been done by some careless historians, that Powhatan or his envoy were so simple as to expect to keep this

tally by a notch for each separate individual; on the contrary, even the English in Jamestown would have been a little troublesome to number in that way, by this time. But numbering by tens or even by hundreds, was quite within Tomocomo's ability; it was all the more overwhelming when on his return to Virginia he was obliged to report to Powhatan that these English were like the sands of the sea, out of any man's power to count or number.

But what Tomocomo was perfectly competent to observe was any discourtesy towards Pocahontas; his report of which would have destroyed the newly formed *entente cordiale* between the high contracting parties to the recent alliance. This, Smith feared, and this he urged upon Queen Anne, with what effect it is impossible to tell, except that his letter had certainly no evil results.* For shortly after, the Lady Rebecca was presented at court by Lady Delaware, and became the rage in London; but the gayeties in her honor could not make up to her for the absence of her old free life, and civilization proved to her as destructive as to most of her race; she developed consumption, and died at Gravesend, as she was about to return to Virginia. Her little son, Thomas Rolfe, was left to be brought up as an Englishman; but coming to Virginia in later years he became the ancestor of many well-known persons and families in that State.

The death of Pocahontas was viewed at the time,

* Whether her son, Thomas Rolfe, was born before or after her interview with Smith, we do not know; but it took place about this time.

and has been considered by some historians, as a misfortune to the colony; but pathetic as are indeed her short life and her early death, it is doubtful whether the undoubted influence which she would have exercised for good among her own people, had she survived, would have balanced the enormous harm which the example of this marriage would have worked among the English. For we have seen already the mistaken policy of those in authority of promoting inter-marriage between the races, and few of us need to be convinced at this late day that the purity of our European blood was cheaply bought at the price of those Indian wars and massacres which inter-marriage would have prevented. A mixed race would have struck root and flourished more speedily and more undisturbed; but it could never have accomplished the work among the nations which the providence of God has assigned to America, a work whose vast proportions we are only beginning dimly to discern.

CHAPTER XXV.

Conclusion.

It was very difficult for a man like John Smith to realize that his period of active service was over; that there was nothing remaining for him but the writing of books and the drawing of maps. Such, however, proves to have been the story of his remaining years. He is barely forty when we next come upon authentic knowledge of him in 1620; yet it may have been that his life of exposure and hardship had exhausted his vitality to an extent greater than he was himself aware of. His portrait, however, at thirty-seven shows certainly no signs of age or feebleness, but it was painted at just that brief period to which we have already referred when the brilliant promises of the Plymouth Company and their readiness in conferring titles deceived him into the belief that now at last all his dreams were on the eve of realization, and that the position of power and influence which he felt to be the right of his deeds as well as of his abilities was now about to become his own—and for life.

Instead there came ten years of hope deferred, and his death at fifty-one, worn out it may be more by this decade of disappointment than by starvation, shipwreck or slavery.

The limits of this volume scarcely permit a full dis-

cussion of the very interesting question which arises at this point, namely, what would have been the result to America had Smith's project of colonizing New England been carried out? Certainly he had not in his mind the establishment of a Puritan Commonwealth, though one of the points usually missed by his biographers is that his affiliations during the last years of his life were chiefly, if not entirely, with the Puritan party. For it must be remembered that there existed at the time of the sailing of the Pilgrim Fathers a sharp distinction between Puritans, who desired to reform the Church of England from within, and the Separatists, Brownists or Independents, who considered Episcopacy another way of spelling the name of the Scarlet Woman, and rejoiced in rendering themselves amenable to the law by non-conformity to such Church regulations as regarded the baptisms of their children and their own communions in their parish church, with such worldly matters as the payment of tithes, etc. With such scruples as these, Smith's writings show that he had no sympathy whatever; but, despite his connection with Prince Charles and his letter to Queen Anne, he was no cavalier. Indeed, until the period of Charles' return from Spain, whither he had gone with apparent romantic haste to force on his marriage with the Infanta, the weakness and treachery of his character had never been fully understood; until that time he had enjoyed the reversion of those hopes which had been built upon his brother, as well as the confidence inspired by the grave, graceful dignity of a manner doubly pleasing by its contrast to

the grossness and triviality of his father. Those expressions of loyalty and admiration for the Prince of Wales, which we find in Smith's letter to him and in his writings, are without doubt perfectly sincere; whether he would have said the like after 1625 is open to question.

But for the Leyden Congregation there was no question in the matter; the king of England, in virtue of his position as the head of the English church, was anathema; the Church itself, in only a less degree than that of Rome, was anti-Christ, and they proposed to keep no terms whatever with Satan.

When therefore shortly before 1620 the matter of emigrating from Holland to America began to be canvassed, and when the territory under the jurisdiction of the Plymouth Company was decided upon as forming the limits of their proposed settlement, the subject came immediately under Smith's notice as admiral of New England and excited his vivid interest. In just what capacity he offered to serve them it is difficult to understand, but quite possibly it was in the position afterwards filled by Miles Standish, as captain of Plymouth. But the Pilgrims declined from the start any interference by any outsider with any affair of theirs; even of the Plymouth Company they made themselves independent by leasing on stated terms such lands as they had need of. Accordingly they declined Smith's offer, somewhat brusquely perhaps. He says in relation to the affair: "About a hundred of your Brownists of England, Amsterdam and Leyden went to New Plymouth, whose humorous ignor-

ances caused them for more than a year to endure a wonderful deal of misery with an infinite patience, saying my books and maps were much better cheap to teach them than myself; many others have pursued the like good husbandry that have paid dearly in trying their self-willed conclusions."

It may be indeed that Smith could have prevented by his counsel some of the horrors of that first winter at Plymouth; though there is little doubt that he and the Pilgrim Fathers were better friends apart; but they were not particularly good friends at any time or place; he considering them as religious cranks, while they returned the compliment by distrusting him as a malignant (though the term had hardly been invented at the time), and also by adopting a superstition that had got about since his escape from the French pirates, that he was unlucky, and likely to bring disaster upon any expedition in which he should take part.

But it was with reason that his books and maps were considered "better cheap" than his personal services; writing in 1630, he says: "Yet for all this, in all this time, though I had divulged to my great labor, cost and pains, more than seven thousand books and maps, and moved the particular companies in London, as also noblemen, gentlemen and merchants for a plantation, all availed no more than to hew rocks with oyster shells; so fresh were the living abuses of Virginia and the Summer (Somers or Bermudas) Isles in their memories."

As regards the imputation of bringing bad luck, his

words are well worth quoting. "Now if you but truly consider how many strange accidents have befallen these plantations and myself, you cannot but conceive God's infinite mercy both to them and me. Having been a slave to the Turks, prisoner among the most barbarous savages . . . . and yet to have lived near thirty-seven years in the midst of wars, pestilence and famine, by which many a hundred thousand have died about me, and scarce five living of them that went first with me to Virginia: and yet to see the fruits of my labors thus well begin to prosper: though I have but my labor for my pains, have I not much reason both privately and publicly to acknowledge it and give God thanks, whose omnipotent power only delivered me to do the utmost of my best, to make His name known in those remote parts of the world, and His loving mercy to such a miserable sinner."

As concerning his lack of employment during these years, with which he had been reproached, and which is still by his detractors used against him, he says this: "Had my designs been to have persuaded men to a mine of gold, as I know many have done that knew no such matter; . . . . or some new invention to pass to the South Sea, or some strange plot to invade some strange monastery, or some chargeable fleet to take some rich carracks, or letters of marque to rob some poor fisherman or honest merchant: what multitudes of both people and money would contend to be first employed!"

Times seem to have changed very little after all since 1630; and there is some reason to fear that John

Smith might have lacked employment equally in 1901, and for the same reason:—excess of honesty.

We have spoken of the strained relations between himself and the Leyden Pilgrims; he was, however, in the fullest sympathy with Winthrop's expedition in 1629, for the better guidance of which he wrote his "Advertisements for the Inexperienced, or the Pathway to Erect a Plantation," which was published in the year following, and from which the above passages are taken. It is probable that he would have been welcome among the members of this colony as a settler; but it was then too late; he was about fifty years of age, and was in no condition physically to endure the hardships incident to pioneer life under the most favorable circumstances. But the ten years of trial and waiting in vain had not been wasted; they had produced the following volumes, in themselves a worthy life-work, and one to satisfy a man less greedy of usefulness to his day and generation than John Smith. Including those already mentioned, the full list of his writings is as follows:

A True Relation &c. or News from Virginia . . 1608
A Map of Virginia &c. Part I. J. Smith, editor .
. Part II. Rev. W. Simmonds, editor 1612
A Description of New England 1616
New England's Trials (*i. e.* proofs of its value to England) 1620
New England's Trials (revised and enlarged) . . 1622
The General Historie of Virginia 1624
Book I. The English Voyages to the Old Virginia.
Book II. Of Virginia Now Planted.
Book III. Of the Proceedings and Accidents of the English in Virginia.

Book IV. The Proceedings of the English after the Alteration of the Government in Virginia.
Book V. The General History of the Bermudas.
Book VI. The General History of New England.
(Being a reprint, revised and enlarged of the Description, and New England's Trials).

An Accidence for Young Seamen 1626
(The first sea grammar ever written, thus marking a new departure in English scientific literature).

The True Travels 1630
Part I. The Travels and Adventures of Captain Smith.
Part II. The Travels and Observations of Captain Smith.

Advertisements for the Inexperienced, or the Pathway to Erect a Plantation , . . , . . . 1630

He was projecting a history of the sea at the time of his death; but if any portion of it had been written, the MS. has perished. He seems never in these later years to have had a house of his own, but to have traveled hither and thither, still bent, perhaps, on his colonial propaganda, and, no doubt, doing much towards the encouragement of that great Puritan exodus of which John Winthrop was the Moses. It was a time in England of religious and social reaction; and thoughtful men, lacking as utterly as we ourselves the faculty of prophecy, were as strongly inclined as we, when our favorite reforms go wrong, to despair of the final triumph of right and justice. The only hope for the survival of the truth, the only refuge for liberty, was, in their eyes, the upbuilding of a newer England across the Atlantic; it was with this solemn and religious purpose that they invested their whole worldly wealth, in some cases, in the undertaking, and went forth, like the Israelites of old, with their flocks

and herds, their wives and their little ones. And morally, at least, if not physically, it could almost have been said of them, that there was not one feeble person among their tribes; they were the flower of England. It was such a colony as Smith had worked for, prayed for, and dreamed of; it issued from that part of England wherein, for all those ten weary years of disappointment he had preached his new gospel; those who went forth were in many cases his personal friends; they took with them his God-speed, and he writes of them directly after: "They have preachers erected among themselves, and God's true religion, they say, taught amongst them, the Sabbath Day observed, the Common Prayer (as I understand) and sermons performed, and diligent catechising, with strict and careful exercise; . . . . which done, in time may grow from both these Plantations a good addition to the Church of England."

It may be that the Book of Common Prayer was in use less regularly than Smith supposed, though Winthrop and his party separated from the Church of England rather by necessity than choice; but however that may be, one is glad of the joyful hope that came to brighten our hero's last days; and glad as well that they were his last days; that he passed away from a life that had been to him so eventful, before the storm of Revolution broke over England, and before his beloved New England finally cast off that Church to which he paid as devoted a loyalty as to the crown.

The "Advertisements" were written, as the text tells us, at the house of Sir Humphrey Mildmay in

Essex; his death took place in London, at the house of Sir Samuel Saltonstall, in St. Sepulchre's parish, on June 21st, 1631. This Sir Samuel Saltonstall was son to a former Lord Mayor of London, and was himself a person of wealth and consequence, and strongly Puritan in his religious convictions; indeed, his nephew, Richard Saltonstall, was a member of Winthrop's colony, and moreover, in subsequent years was prominent in showing aid and comfort to the regicides who fled to New England after the accession of Charles II.

Smith's last will and testament is dated from Saltonstall's house on the very day of his death; it shows us chiefly that, though he had been lavish in the expenditure of the means won by his own perils and adventures, he had not wasted the patrimony received from his father. What had become of the farm we do not know; tenants of copyholds had at that time the right to bequeath, on their death, their tenancy, but not to alienate it, except by lease for a year at a time, while living; so that Smith's responsibility in regard to this property expired within twelve months after the death of his mother, from whom he held, as we have seen, the reversion. The tenements in the town of Louth, if they were the same that had been bequeathed to his brother Francis, came to him at that brother's death, since we note in the will the mention of his brother's widow; but none of nephews or nieces. These, together with those fields in Charlton Magna, where we have seen him (possibly) dreaming or actively studying old chronicles and the Art of War, were left

to a certain Thomas Packer, one of the clerks of His Majesty's Privy Seal, in consideration for which the said Packer was to pay his funeral expenses, not to exceed twenty pounds, and the various legacies mentioned in the will. The sum disbursed in this way was not to exceed eighty pounds, or about $2,000 of our modern money; no doubt the real estate was worth more than this amount; and the excess must have been sufficient to cover all outstanding debts and unsettled claims, if any, as well as to recompense the executor for his time and trouble, or he would scarcely have undertaken the charge. But the proportion of one-fourth the sum bequeathed to be spent on his funeral expenses appears a trifle lavish; we must remember, however, that Smith was not as a matter of fact an unimportant personage; and that, having been so set at naught during his life, it was at least a natural impulse to endeavor to secure for his death a proper amount of respect.

But the effort failed. He was buried, indeed, and no doubt with some circumstance, in the Church of St. Sepulchre; in Munday and Dyson's enlarged edition of Stow's Survey of London, which appeared two years later, his monument on the south side of the choir is described, and the very florid epitaph is quoted; but the church, monument, and epitaph perished together in the Great Fire; and there exists now, to the memory of John Smith, only one memorial, either in the country of his birth or the colonies which he founded; it is that in which his name is coupled with those of Drake and Raleigh, upon the

wall of the National Library at Washington.* Smith's Isles, off the New England coast, which in the division of the country among a number of so-called patentees, were assigned as his share, are now the Isles of Shoals; of the Turks' Heads, one is Thatcher's Island, the others are nameless. Only Smith's Island at the mouth of the Chesapeake preserves a trace of his name or his personality.

A man not without faults, one would say in the final summing up of his character; not a reactionary or a belated Elizabethan, as others have misunderstood him; but on the contrary too far in advance of his own time to win that recognition which it was his chief weakness to seek for and to claim at times, even aggressively; a man whose thorough modernity in thought and sympathy even startles one at moments; and withal, a man too honest for his own day, or, alas! for our own.

A man, to sum up all, whose truest epitaph is found, not in the fulsome lines erected to his memory by Thomas Packer, but in the simple, manly characterization of himself with which he signs the dedication to one of his books:

> To Christ and My Country, a True Soldier and Faithful Servant.

In the sad verses written by him in 1630, only a few months before his death, he had likened himself

* See Note to Chapter XVI. for the memorial in the Church in Smithfield, Va.

to an old abandoned wreck. These are, in truth, his appropriate dirge:

THE SEA MARKE

Aloofe, aloofe, and come no neare,
the dangers doe appeare;
Which if my ruine had not beene
you had not seene:
I only lie upon this shelfe
to be a marke to all
which on the same might fall
That none may perish but myselfe.

If in or outward you be bound
doe not forget to sound;
Neglect of that was cause of this
to steare amisse.
The Seas were calme, the wind was faire
that made me so secure,
that now I must indure
All weathers, be they foule or faire.

The Winters cold, the Summers heat
alternatively beat
Upon my bruised sides, that rue
because too true
That no releefe can ever come.
But why should I despaire
being promised so faire,
That there shall be a day of Dome.

APPENDIX A.*

INSTRUCTIONS

given by way of advice, by us whom it hath pleased the King's Majesty to appoint of the Counsel for the intended voyage to Virginia, to be observed by those Captains and Company which are sent at this present to plant there. (1606.)

"As we doubt not but you will have especial care to observe the ordinances set doun by the King's Majesty, and delivered to you under the Privy Seal; so, for your better directions upon your first landing we have thought good to recommend unto your care these instructions and articles following.

"When it shall please God to send you on the coast of Virginia, you shall do your best endeavor to find out a safe port in the entrance of some navigable river, making choice of such a one as runneth farthest into the land, and if you happen to discover divers portable rivers, and amongst them any one that hath two main branches, if the difference be not great, make choice of that which bendeth most towards the North-west for that way you shall sooner find the other sea.

"When you have made choice of the river on which you mean to settle, be not hasty in landing your victuals and munitions; but first let Captain Newport discover how far that river may be found navigable, that you (may) make election of the strongest, most wholesome and fertile place; for if you make many removes, besides the loss of time, you shall greatly spoil your victuals and your casks, and with great pain transport it in small boats.

*Smith's Collected Works, ed. Arber, p. xxxiii.

"But if you choose your place so far up as a bark of fifty tuns will float, then you may lay all your provisions ashore with ease, and the better receive the trade of all the countries about you in the land; and such a place you may perchance find a hundred miles from the river's mouth, and the further up the better. For if you sit down near the entrance, except it be in some island that is strong by nature, an enemy that may approach you on even ground may easily pull you out; and if he be driven to seek you a hundred miles in the land in boats, you shall from both sides of the river where it is narrowest, so beat them with your muskets as they shall never be able to prevail against you.

"And to the end that you be not surprised as the French were in Florida by Melindus, and the Spaniard in the same place by the French, you shall do well to make this double provision. First erect a little stoure at the mouth of the river that may lodge some ten men; with whom you shall leave a light boat, that when any fleet shall be in sight, they may come with speed to give you warning. Secondly you must in no case suffer any of the native people of the country to inhabit between you and the sea coast; for you cannot carry yourselves so towards them but they will grow discontented with your habitation, and be ready to guide and assist any nation that shall come to invade you; and if you neglect this, you neglect your safety.

"When you have discovered as far up the river as you mean to plant yourselves, and landed your victuals and munitions; to the end that every man shall know his charge, you shall do well to divide your six-score men into three parts: whereof one party of them you may appoint to fortifie and build, of which your first work must be your storehouse for victuals; the other(s) you may imploy in preparing your ground, and sowing your corn and roots; the other ten of those forty you must leave as centinel at the haven's mouth.

"The other forty you may imploy for two months in discovery of the river above you, and on the country about

you; which charge Captain Newport and Captain Gosnold may undertake of these forty discoverers. When they do espie any high lands or hills, Captain Gosnold may take twenty of the company to cross over the lands, and carrying half a dozen pick axes to try if they can find any minerals. The other twenty may go on by river, and pitch up boughs npon the bank's side, by which the other boats shall follow them by the same turnings. You may also take with them a wherry, such as is used here upon the Thames; by which you may send back to the President for supply of munition or any other want, that you may not be driven to return for every small defect.

"You must observe if you can whether the river on which you plant doth spring out of mountains or out of lakes. If it be out of any lake, the passage to the other sea will be more easy, and (it) is like enough that out of the same lake you shall find some spring which runs the contrary way towards the East India Sea; for the great and famous rivers of Volga, Tanais, and Dwina, have three heads near joyn(e)d; and yet the one falleth in the Caspian Sea, the other into the Euxine Sea, and the third into the Paelonian Sea.

"In all your passages you must have great care not to offend the naturals, if you can eschew it; and imploy some of your company to trade with them for corn and all other lasting victuals if you (?they) have any: and this you must do before they perceive you mean to plant among them; for not being sure how your own seed corn will prosper the first year, to avoid the danger of famine, use and endeavor to store yourselves of the country corn.

"Your discoverers that passes over land with hired guides must look well to them that they slip not from them: and for more assurance let them take a compass with them, and write down how far they go upon every point of the compass; for that country having no way nor path, if that your guides run from you in the great woods or desert, you shall hardly ever find a passage back.

"And how weary soever your soldiers be, let them never trust the country people with the carriage of their weapons; for if they run from you with your shott, which they only fear, they will easily kill them all with their arrows. And whensoever any of yours shoots before them, be sure they may be chosen out of your best marksmen; for if they see your learners miss what they aim at, they will think the weapon not so terrible, and thereby will be bould to assault you.

"Above all, do not advertise the killing of any of your men that the country people may know it; if they perceive that they are but common men, and that with the loss of many of theirs they can diminish any part of yours, they will make many adventures upon you. If the country be populous, you shall do well also, not to let them see or know of any of your sick men, if you have any; which may also encourage them to many enterprises.

"You must take especial care that you choose a seat for habitation that shall not be overburthened with woods near your town; for all the men you have shall not be able to cleanse twenty acres a year; besides that it may serve as a covert for your enemies round about.

"Neither must you plant in a low or moist place, because it will prove unhealthfull. You shall judge of the good air by the people; for some part of that coast where the lands are low have their people blear-eyed, and with swollen bellies and legs; but if the naturals be strong and clean made, it is a true sign of a wholesome soil. You must take order to draw up the pinnace that is left with you under the fort: and (to) take her sails and anchors ashore, all but a small kedge to ride by; least som ill-disposed persons slip away with her.

"You must take care that your mariners that go for wages do not mar your trade; for those that mind not to inhabite, for a little gain will debase the estimation of exchange, and hinder the trade for ever after; and therefore you shall not admit or suffer any person whatever,

other than such as shall be appointed by the President and Counsel there, to buy any merchandizes, or other things whatsoever.

"It were necessary that all your carpenters and other such like workmen about building do first build your storehouse and those other rooms of publick and necessary use before any house be set up for any private person: And though the workman may belong to any private persons yet let them all work together first for the company, and then for private men.

"And seeing order is at the same price with confusion, it shall be adviseably done to set your houses even, and by a line, that your streets may have a good breadth, and be carried square about your market place, and every street's end opening into it; that from thence, with a few field pieces, you may command every street throughout; which market place you may also fortify if you think it needfull.

"You shall do well to send a perfect relation by Captain Newport of all that is done, what height you are seated, how far into the land, what commodities you find, what soil, woods, and their several kinds and so of all other things else to advertise particularly; and to suffer no man to return but by passport from the President and Counsel, not to write any letter of anything that may discourage others.

"Lastly and chiefly the way to prosper and achieve good success is to make yourselves all of one mind for the good of your country and your own, and to serve and fear God the giver of all Goodness for every plantation which our Heavenly Father hath not planted shall be rooted out."

APPENDIX B.*

George Smith's Will. Furnished by Mr. John Swan, the present (1884) District Registrar of the Probate Court at Lincoln.

"In the Name of God Amen In the thirtyth day of March a thowsande five hundreth ninety-six I, George Smith of Willougbie juxta Alford on Marisco in the Countie of Lincolne being of good and perfect memorie I thanke God for itt though in bodie weake and paynde doe ordeyne and make this my last Will and Testament in manner and forme followinge. First I bequeathe my Soule into the mercifull hands of th(e) almightie God in the mediation of Jesus Chryst myne alone and all sufficientt saviour, and my bodie to be buried within Willoughbie Church

Item I give to Lincoln Minster vjd.

Item to ye poore of ye foresaide Willoughbie iijs, iiijd.

Item I give to ye Right Honorable my Lord Willoughbie under whome I have many yeares lived as his poore tennant as a token of my dewtifull good will the best of my two yeares old colts

Item I geve and bequeathe to Alice my Wyfe ye ferme which I now dwell in which I houlde by coppie of Court roule as ye grant of ye Right Honorable my foresaide good Lorde during her widdow hoode accordinge to ye custome of his Lordshippe manner of Willoughbie; and if it shall please God that my saide Wyfe doe marry agayne and take a second husband, then my Will is that my saide ferme shall come to John Smyth my eldest sonne whome I

* Smith's Works, p. xix.

charge and command to honoure and love my foresaide good Lord Willoughbie duringe his lyfe

Item I geve to Alice Smyth my Wyfe tenne pounds of good and lawfull currant mony of England to be paid unto her att ye quarter off a yeares end next after my deathe

Item I will and bequeathe unto ye said Alice my Wyfe a bedstead in ye first Chamber with a fetherbed a coveringe a paire lynne (n) sheets one blanckett a bowlster with pillow and pillowe beare

Item I geve to Alice Smyth my daughter tenn pownds of good and lawfull currant monie of England, with a bedstead in the parler and a fetherbedd and coveringe and a blanckett a paire of lynne (n) sheets and a pare of hempen sheets with boulster pillow and pillow beares

Item I give to the said Alice my doughter half of all my pewter and brasse. And if ye saide Alice my daughter doe dye before ye age of eighteene yeares, I will that all her parte and porcion as well of money as of other things be equally devided betweene myne executors

Item I geve and bequeathe to Robert Smyth my Kynsman fourty shillings of good and lawfull currant monye of England to be given him within one halfe yeare next after my death

Item I geve to John Smyth mine eldest sonne and to ye heires of his bodie lawfully begotten Seaven acres of pasture lyenge within ye territoare of Charleton Magne

Item I geve to Frauncis Smyth my younger sonne and to ye heires of his bodie lawfully begotten my two tenements and one Little Close in a certeyn Streete in Lowthe called Westgate And if ye saide Frauncis dye without issue of his bodie lawfully begotten I will that ye saide tenements and close remaine to my said sonne John Smyth and his issue of his bodie lawfully begotten

All ye rest of my goods nott yett given nor bequeathed as well moveable as unmoveable; my debts paied and my bodie honestly brought to ye grounde I will shall equally be devided betwixt my saide two sonnes John Smyth and Frauncis Smyth whome I make the Coexecutors of this my

last Will and Testament: and I hartely and earnestly entreate my goode Frende Master George Mattham to be ye supervisor of this my last Will and Testament to whome I give in consideration of his paynes xs.
Wittnesses to this last Will and Testament
THOMAS SCARBOROUGHE and BARTHOLOMEW LAWRENCE.

APPENDIX C.*

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH'S LAST WILL AND EPITAPH.

(The Will is printed from the original Will in the Will Office of the Prerogative Court at Somerset House London).

In the name of God Amen. The one and twentieth daie of June in the seaventh yeare of our soveraigne Lord Charles by the grace of God King of England Scotland France and Ireland Defendour of the faith &c.

I Captain John Smith of the parish of St. Sepulchers London Esquiour, beinge sicke in body but of perfect mynde and memory, thankes be given vnto Allmightie God therefore, Revoking all former wills by me heretofore made, Doe make and ordeine this my last will and testament in manner following. First, I commend my soule into the handes of Allmightie God my maker hoping through the merites of Christ Jesus, my Redeemer to receive full remission of all my sins, and to inherit a place in the euerlasting kingdome. My body I committ to the earth from whence it came, to be interred according to the discrecion of myne Executours hereunder named. And of such worldly goodes whereof it hath pleased God in his mercie to make me an vnworthie Receaver, I giue and bequeathe them as hereafter followeth.

First I give and bequeathe vnto Thomas Packer Esquiour one of the Clerkes of his Majesties Privy Seale and to his heires for euer, all my houses landes tenementes and hereditaments whatsoeuer scituate lyenge and beinge in the parishes of Lowthe and greater Carleton in the county of Lincolne together with my Coate of Armes.

* Smith's Works, p. 969.

Item my Will and meaninge is, that in consideracion thereof the sayd Thomas Packer shall disburse and pay all such sommes of money and legacies as hereafter in this my Will are giuen bequeathed and reserued not exceeding the somme of fowerscore poundes of Lawfull mony of England, That is to saie: First, I reserue vnto myself to be disposed as I shall thynke good in my life tyme, the somme of twentie pounds. Item he shall disburse about my funerall the somme of twentie poundes. Item I give and bequeath out of the residue of the fourscore poundes as followeth, viz. I give and bequeath unto my much honored and most worthie friend Sir Samuel Saltonstall Knight the somme of fyve poundes. Item to Mistris Tredway the somme of fyve poundes. Item to my sister Smith the Widowe of my brother the some of tenn poundes. Item to my cousin Steven Smith and his sister the somme (of) six poundes thirteene shillinges fower pence betweene them. Item to the said Thomas Packer, Joan his wife and Eleanour his daughter the somme of Tenne poundes among them. Item to Master Reynolds the Saymaster (Assay Master) of the Gouldsmiths Hall the somme of fortie shillinges. All which legacies my meaning and Will is shall be paid by the said Thomas Packer his heires executours or administratours within one yeare after my Discease.

Item I give vnto Thomas Packer, sonne of the above sayd Thomas Packer, my trunck standing in my chamber at Sir Samuel Saltonstalls house in St. Sepulcher's parish, together with my best suite of apparrell, of a tawny color, viz., hose doublet ierkin and cloake.

Item I give unto him my trunke bound with iron barres standing in the house of Richard Hinde in Lambeth, togeather with halfe the bookes therein, to be chosen by the said Thomas Packer and allowed by mine Executours; and the other halfe of the bookes I giue unto Master John Tredeskyn (? Tradescant) and the said Richard Hynde to be divided betweene them.

Item, I nominate appointe and ordeine my said much honored friend Sir Samuel Saltonstall and the said Thomas Packer the elder, ioint executours of this my last Will and testament.

the marke of the sayd John Smith.

Read acknowledged sealed and deliuered by the said Captain John Smith to be his last Will and testament, in the presence of us who have subscribed our names

per me Willelmum Keble, senior civitatus London.

WILLIAM PACKER

ELIZABETH SEWSTER

MARMADUKE WALKER his mark

Wytnes.

(Probate issued to Thomas Parker on 1 July, 1631).

THE EPITAPH.

To the living Memory of his deceased Friend, Captaine JOHN SMITH, who departed this mortall life on the 21 day of June, 1631. With his Armes, and this Motto, Accordamus. Vincere est Vivere.

Here lies one conquer'd that hath conquer'd Kings,
Subdu'd large Territories, and done things
Which to the World impossible would seeme,
But that the truth is held in more esteeme.
Shall I report his former service done
In honor to his God and Christendome:
How that he did divide from Pagans three,
Their Heads and Lives, Types of his Chivalry;
For which great service in that Climate done,
Brave Sigismundus (King of Hungarion)
Did give him as a Coat of Armes to weare,
Those conquer'd heads got by his Sword and Speare?
Or shall I tell of his adventures since,
Done in Virginia, that large Continence;
How that he subdu'd Kings unto his yoke,

And made those Heathen flie, as wind doth smoke;
And made their land, being of so large a Station,
A habitation for our Christian Nation,
Where God is glorified, their wants supplied,
Which else for necessaries might have died?
But what availes his Conquest, now he lies
Inter'd in earth, a prey for Wormes and Flies?
O may his soule in sweet Elizium sleepe,
Vntill the Keeper that all soules doth keepe,
Returne to Iudgement, and that after thence,
With Angels he may have his recompence.

Captaine John Smith, sometime Governour
of Virginia, and Admirall of
New England.

APPENDIX D.*

SIGISMUND'S PATENT AND LETTER OF SAFE CONDUCT.

SIGISMUNDUS BATHORI.—Dei Gratia Dux Transilvaniæ, Wallachiæ et Vandalorum; Comes Anchard, Salford, Growenda; Cunctis his literis significamus qui eas lecturi aut audituri sunt, concessam licentiam aut facultatem Iohanni Smith, natione Anglo Generoso, 250. militum capitaneo sub Illustrissimi et Gravissimi Henrici Volda, Comitis de Meldri, Salmariæ et Peldoiæ primario, et 1000 equitibus et 1500 peditibus bello Vngarico conductione in Provincias suprascriptas sub Authoritate nostra: cui servitute omni laude, perpetuaque memoria dignum præbuit sese erga nos, ut virum strenuum pugnantem pro aris et focis decit. Quare è favore nostro militario ipsum ordine condonavimus, et in Sigillum illius tria Turcia Capita designare et deprimere concessimus, quæ ipse gladio suo ad Vrbem Regalem in singulari prælio vincit, mactavit atque decollavit in Transilvaniæ Provincia.

Sed fortuna cum variabilis ancepsque sit idem forte fortuito in Wallachia Provincia, Anno Domini 1602, die Mensis Novembris 18†, cum multis aliis etiam Nobilibus et aliis quibusdam militibus captus est a Domino Bascha electo ex Cambia regionis Tartariæ, cujus severitate adductus salutem quantam potuit quesivet, tantumque effecit, Deo omnipotente adjuvante, ut deliberavit se, et ad suos Commilitones revertit; ex quibus ipsum liberavimus, et hæc nobis testimonia habuit ut majori licentia frueretur qua dignus esset, jam tendet in patriam suam dulcissimam.

Rogamus ergo omnes nostros charissimos, confitimos,

* Smith's Works, p. 842. † Augusti 8vo.

Duces, Principes, Comites. Barones, Gubernatores Vrbium et Navium in eadem Regione et cœterarum Provinciarum in quibus ille residere, conatus fuerit ut idem permittatur Capitaneus libere sine obstaculo omni versari. Hæc facientes pergraium nobis feceritis.

Signatum Lesprizia in Misnia die Mensis Decembris 9, Anno Domini 1603.

SIGISMUNDUS BATHORI.

Cum Privilegio
proprio Majestatis.

UNIVERSIS, et singulis, cujuscunque loci, satus, gradus, ordinis, ac conditionis ad quos hoc præsens scriptum pervenerit, Guilielmus Segar Eques auratus alius dictus* Garterus Principalis Rex Armorum Anglicorum, Salutem.

Sciatis, quod Ego prædictus Garterus, notum, testatumque facio, quod Patentem suprascriptum, cum manu propria prædicti Ducis Transilvaniæ subsignatum, et Sigillo suo affixum, Vidi: et Copiam veram eisdem (in perpetuam rei memoriam) transcripsi, et recordavi in Archivis, et Registris Officii Armorum.

Datum Londini 19. die Augusti, Anno Domini 1625. Annoque Regni Domini nostri CAROLI Dei Gratia Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Regis, Fidei Defensoris, &c., Primo.

GVILIELMVS SEGAR, Garterus.

THE TRANSLATION.

SIGISMUNDUS BATHOR, by the grace of God, Duke of Transylvania, Wallachia, and Moldavia, Earl of Anchard, Salford, and Growenda; to whom this Writing may come or appeare. Know that We have given leave and licence to John Smith, an English Gentleman, Captain of 150. Souldiers, under the most Generous and Honourable

* Dominus

Henry Volda, Earl of Meldritch, Salmaria and Peldoia Colonel of a thousand horse and fifteene hundred foot, in the warres of Hungary, and in the provinces aforesaid under our authority; whose service doth deserve all praise and perpetuall memory towards us, as a man that did for God and his Country overcome his enemies: Wherefore, out of Our love and favour, according to the law of Armes, We have ordained and given him in his shield of Armes, the figure and description of three Turks heads, which with his sword, before the town of Regall, in single combat he did overcome, kill and cut off, in the province of Transylvania.

But fortune as she is very variable, so it chanced and happened to him in the Province of Wallachia, in the yeare of our Lord 1502. the 18. day of November, (when he) with many others, as well Noble men as also divers other Souldiers, were taken prisoners by the Lord Bashaw of Cambia, a country of Tartaria: whose cruelty brought him such good fortune, by the helpe and power of Almighty God, that hee delivered himselfe, and returned againe to his company and fellow souldiers; of whom We doe discharge him, and this hee hath in witnesse thereof, being much more worthy of a better reward; and now intends to return to his own sweet Country.

We desire therefore all our loving and kinde kinsmen, Dukes, Princes, Earles, Barons, Governours of Townes, Cities or Ships, in this Kingdome, or any other Provinces he shall come in, that you freely let pass this the aforesaid Captaine, without any hinderance or molestation: and this doing, with all kindnesse we are alwayes ready to doe the like for you.

Sealed at Lipswick in Misenland, the ninth of December, in the yeare of our Lord, 1603.

SIGISMUNDUS BATHOR.

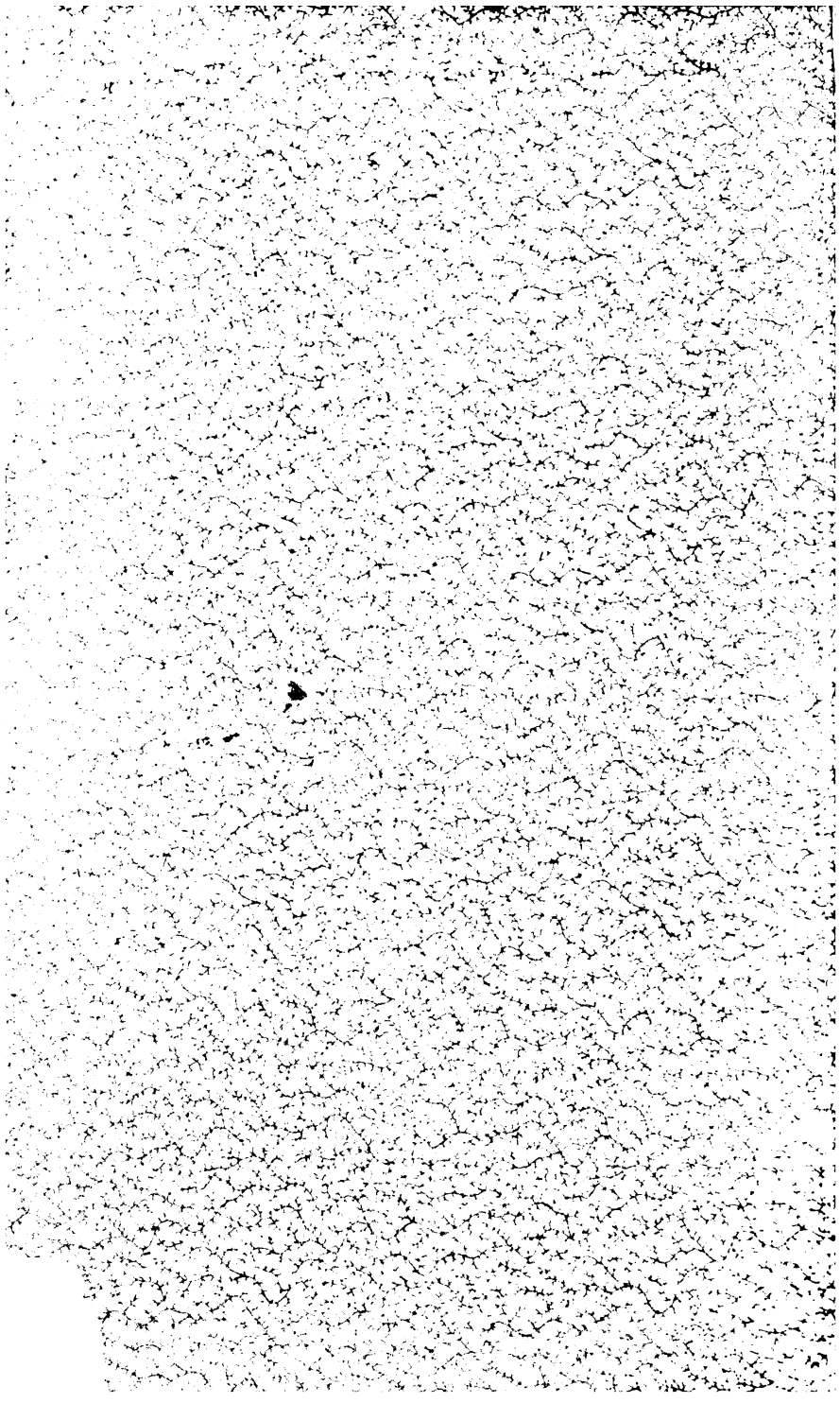
With the proper privilege
of his Majesty.

To all and singular, in what place state degree and con-

dition whatsover, to whom this present writing shall come: I William Segar Knight, otherwise Garter, and principall King of Armes of England, with health. Know that I, the aforesaid Garter, do witnesse and approve, that this aforesaid Patent, I have seene, signed and sealed under the proper hand and Seale Manual of the said Duke of Transilvania; and a true coppy of the same, as a thing for perpetuall memory, I have subscribed and recorded in the Register and office of the Heralds of Armes.

Dated at London the nineteenth day of August, in the yeare of our Lord 1625, and in the First yeare of our Soueraigne Lord Charles by the grace of God, King of Great Britaine, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

WILLIAM SEGAR.



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